



Ansar al-Mujahideen English Forum

Presents

The English translation of al-Ma'sada Media's Publication

Entitled

**Valuable Collection
for the
Strategic Memorandum
Series**

Penned by brother

Abdullah bin Muhammad

- May Allah Protect Him -

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

al-Ma'sada Media

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Valuable Collection for the
Strategic Memorandum Series

By Brother Abdullah bin Mohamed, may Allah protect him

1432H / 2011 AD

Table of Contents

Strategic Memorandum [1]	4
Strategic Memorandum	4
The Question Now	8
Strategic Memorandum [2]	12
The Near Collapse of the World Order and the dismantling of Sykes – Picot	12
The Two Arm Theory	15
Strategic Memorandum [3]	21
The Strategy of Movement within the Two Arm Theory	24
Strategic Memorandum [4]	32
Most Important Recommendations that could Serve the Undertaking	32
Quotation from A Strategic Study of the Global Conflict and the Jihadist Movement's Place in it	46
Historic Turning Point in the Conflict	51
al-Qaeda (Tanzeem Qaedat al-Jihad)	51
Where the Paths of Jihad and America Cross	52
Asymmetrical Warfare	55

Strategic Memorandum [1]

Praise be to the One Victorious Allah, and blessing and peace upon the one who laughs in battle. Allah, I only know what You have taught me; I have no opinion except what you have inspired in me. Guide me with your light to what would make You approve of me. Show me the real Truth, and provide me the wisdom to follow it. Show me the vanity of error, and provide me the wisdom to avoid it. Allah, There is neither might nor power but from You. Neither is there One who grants victory or aid, but You. Oh Lord of the worlds, don't let me rely on myself for even a blink of the eye. Allah, one like me can only ask your forgiveness. But those who know anything of Your kindness, will not fail to ask, so I ask You by Your good names to make me steadfast in obedience to You and to enfold me, my family and my brothers in Your mercy. I have no desire other than to live in Your grace. Praise be to You before and after. My only desire is Your forgiveness and favor. Make me one of those who carry the banner of Islam, and include me with the righteous.

[Strategic Memorandum]

I have recently received several messages from people, who are asking about the most important fronts, through which they could work in the light of the new circumstances. After some have been afraid of the effects of the Arab revolutions on the progress of Jihad, they all now understand the importance of these revolutions in supporting and stabilizing the Jihad and giving it a huge boost that never would have occurred to the mind of anyone. In order to clarify this point, I am going to disclose the content of a letter that I wrote to Sheikh Osama bin Laden, may Allah have mercy on him, after the success of the Egyptian revolution. However, his appointed time to die came sooner than my message to him... In my article, "Strategy to Empower the Supporters of the Shariah of the Lord of the worlds", I alluded to the essence of that message when I mentioned that the final result of the Arab revolutions will only be like the day of Bu'ath, in which the leaders of Aus and Khazraj were killed. Thereby, the balance of power in Medina was upset to open the way for any young power that could lead and would be able to fill the vacuum. The situation was as described by Aisha, may Allah be pleased with her, "The day of Bu'ath was a day that was brought about by Allah for His messenger so that when Allah's messenger, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, came to Medina, their numbers were already divided and their chiefs had been killed." Narrated by Bukhari.

But how?

When we want to know and discern the result of a specific event, we must first measure the scope of the influential forces involved and the direction of each one of them. We would then look into what it could lead to according to the general characteristics and data. These Arab revolutions came about in each country out of different leanings and various aspirations. These included Islamic, secular, national and social. The greater majority of it came from the common masses. In spite of that, these groups stood together in unprecedented ways to bring down these regimes no matter how and at what cost. The fact is that this exceptional solidarity was the main reason for the fall of the regimes of Ben Ali and Mubarak and has brought three other regimes to the verge of collapsing. The

observer of the nature of the decisions and measures, taken by each regime to suppress the revolution, sees that they all flow in one direction, which is to break up this solidarity and to fragment its elements. In this matter, not one of them has succeeded.

What is important here is that this exceptional state of solidarity is exclusive to the phase of revolution and toppling the regime. It cannot continue after that. The events in Tunisia and Egypt after the revolution are the best indication of that. This originally goes back to the fact that Arabs are people who are not at all suited for democracy. Some sociologists in the West have been saying this, and this is Allah's way of protecting them. An indication for this is that Lebanon, which is the only entity in the Arab World that is close to the democratic system, is suffering the most turmoil of the regimes there. Therefore, we see that with every political crisis in Lebanon, talk of civil war is renewed. If we were to say Lebanon has its own peculiarity, then there is Iraq sinking under the weight of oppression, poverty and fighting even though it has a democratic system made just like America. The problem is not specifically with the democratic system with all its faults. Rather, it is with the nature of the Arabs and their social characteristics that only can be led by force. The programs, which American experts and specialists have put in place for cultural and social growth as well as for transformation toward modern economy and democracy, could possibly bear fruit in South American, East Asian or even Central African countries. But after spending hundreds of millions on these programs, they realized that they were plowing in sea water.

Getting back to the Arab revolutions, we see that the first fruit of these revolutions is the removal of the only strong system in the country. After that there is a balance of power among the other components whether they are the remnants of the previous regime, the army, the traditional opposition, the youth of the revolution, the Islamic parties, the secularists or others. When these entities fail to reach the required agreement to form a new ruling government due to the influence of the social characteristics that do not help them in this regard, the clouds of anarchy begin to form little by little until they cover everything. These elements are becoming clear in the countries that have been hit by the tremors of Arab revolutions until now. In Tunisia alone, the Ministry of the Interior has received 100 requests to authorize political parties, 80 of which it has approved. The country is still in an ideological conflict regarding its identity and goals of its revolution. This is even though the revolution swept away Ben Ali and swept away the rest of the regime. However, France is still clinging to Tunisia as a vital area for it, and it still holds some good cards, including what the Minister of the Interior disclosed, who said that the military generals in Algeria are encouraging the commanders of the Tunisian army to organize a coup in case the Islamists obtain power. This is exactly what they did with the Salvation Front in 1992. In both cases there is support and cover from the French.

The situation in Egypt is more serious and more complicated. The country is being pulled in different directions by five widely different centers of power regarding the view of what the nature of this country should be after the revolution. They are the military council, the Christians, the Islamists, the secularists and the youth of the revolution. Each one of these centers has its own agenda that it wants to realize. The High Council received power under an exceptional situation and as the only solution to ensure the

stability of Egypt. The regional and international hope was that the Council would be the best possible outcome. However, the Council collided with the reality of the total disparity that was there before the revolution. The security situation is very bad. Three provinces have refused the return of the State Security Agency. The country itself is on the verge of bankruptcy. Pressure from the street prevented the protection of the major players of former regime. The epidemic of disturbances and sit-down strikes in government circles is raging. There is no clearer evidence of the weakness of the Council's performance than that the country, which used to play a regional role in ensuring security, is not able to protect the Sinai / Israel gas pipeline, which has been blown up four times as of now. The Christians feel like they are the biggest losers as a result of this revolution. Therefore, some of their voices have gone out calling for the independence of the Copts in their own country. This is a new/old project supported by the Copts abroad, by some political circles in Washington and by the World Council of Churches. With every bloody confrontation with the Muslims, other voices come out calling for the international community to intervene to protect the Copts. One could say that these calls are nothing more than verbal reactions or venting that will dissipate when the reasons behind them are removed. However, the fact that Christians in Egypt have begun intense purchasing of weapons at any price could be a counter indication of that.

The Islamic parties, whether they are the Brotherhood or the Salafists or splinters from them or independents, are the strongest players on the Egyptian street. The constitutional referendum and the popular consensus will prove the accuracy of this assumption. Secularism has entered the ideological struggle with Islamism in an attempt to maintain the state's secular mode. Some of its parties have entered into an open cooperation with the United States of America, which authorized a special budget to support these same parties. The fifth center of power is the youth of the revolution. They are one of the causes of anarchy in Egypt. Their many great sacrifices tied the revolution to their name. This is what made them responsible to protect the revolution from corrupt individuals. This role has put them into a state of almost continuous conflict with the High Council.

With this unfavorable arrangement, it becomes perfectly clear to us that the situation will not calm down in the intermediate and near future. However, I believe that the most important battle will be concentrated between the great powers and Islamism. The first will work at containing the danger of Islamism from reaching power in Egypt by cooperating with the secularists and by putting obstacles in the way of any plans to develop any government that has any Islamic features. This will be a repeat of what was seen with the political status of the independent government in Gaza. There is another scenario, and I don't think it is farfetched either (Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri thought that it will probably happen) and that would be that the Military Council takes on the role of protecting the secularism of the country, exactly like the role that the Turkish military plays in Turkey. The rest of the Arab regimes have benefitted from the lessons of the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. Some of them chose to negotiate peace and yield to the desires of the people to the greatest extent possible such as Jordan, Morocco and Oman. Some of them chose bloody confrontation from the beginning such as Libya, Syria and Yemen. Some of them chose sectarian zeal to entrench most of the people behind them such as what happened in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. However, these measures

have been nothing more than temporary tranquillizers. The revolutionary situation in the Arab street has proven to be tougher than the violence that it faces and that negotiating only brings more demands. The clever ones in the Gulf played a bigger role than their real size by fomenting sectarianism, which was an exit for them from the revolution. However, this put them in an unbalanced confrontation with Iran, and they began to realize that war could be at the door. Of course there are countries that don't need revolutions to go into anarchy like the rest. There is a very great probability that civil and sectarian war will break out in Sudan, Iraq and Lebanon. The probability of war in those places has factors that do not exist in other places.

From here, we are able to say that the Arab region is heading into a long period of internal and regional conflicts. The only name I could find for this period is "Violent Anarchy" because the tax on the political and military struggles in a state of affairs like this will come at the expense of security and subsistence. This is what will cause us to see emigrations such as what happened in Palestine, famines such as what happened in Somalia and massacres such as what happened in the Balkans. In fact, the recent events in Syria have foreshadowed these painful spectacles as a preview that doesn't look good regarding the violence of this period. It is my belief that the international community will be unable to deal with this historic magnitude of anarchy. Moreover, it is going to fail to contain the effect of it on itself. The collapse of these regimes, or the immersion in their problems and their internal struggles will lead to the impairment of all the roles they used to play at the international and regional levels in the past. The collapse of governments in the ring of countries surrounding Israel will bring back the popular confrontation with the Jews as was the case in the late sixties with the fadayeens operations on the Jordanian, Egyptian, Syrian and Lebanese borders. The lack of implementing the special protocols for monitoring the borders and coasts will let the Mujahid travel from Sidi Bu Zayd to Gaza, while fearing nothing but Allah and the wolf getting his sheep. Some Western reports have shown their fear that the anarchy in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia will lead to the spread of Egyptian Islamic groups in North Africa including their cadres and human resources. Unfortunately for the international community, the Arab region includes three straits that are extremely important for international commerce. More worrisome than that, it includes the most important oil belt in the world. Any conflict of this expected magnitude will cause oil prices to leap to unprecedented levels. Saudi Arabia will not be able to play its old role of increasing production to lower oil prices. It is known that the plan to use strategic oil reserves for the United States of America and the European countries is enough for a period of between two and three months. Any war in the Gulf in the shadow of the violent anarchy in the region will deprive these countries of oil for a very long period. The problem is that the West has tied its life and most of its production, even its pharmaceuticals, to oil and its derivatives. Any interruption in the supply of oil is an actual interruption in the life of the West. We saw what the break in Libyan oil did in the world markets, so how about a stoppage in Iran or the Gulf countries? Here, we are talking about a high percentage of the total world production. In order for us to come close to a true picture of the coming events, it is enough to turn the pages of the civil wars in Lebanon and Somalia. In both of these countries an armed conflict broke out under the balance of power, and this led to violent anarchy in everything. Basic services stopped. Local currency had no value. There was no security. Gangs of highway robbers spread.

Cities and municipalities began following and reverting to tribal, sectarian and partisan divisions. This was under a community that was capable of intervening and containing the effects of the events. Our present situation is similar to a big Lebanon or a huge Somalia that the international community will not be able to deal with. History testifies that the great powers with their local surrogates were not able to solve the Lebanese problem until 15 years elapsed. As of yet, they still have not succeeded in solving the Somalia problem. They are not safe due to the effects of the situation in Somalia. Piracy still threatens international maritime shipping. Most of the Somali states are in the hands of the Shabab al-Mujahideen group, which is designated on the terrorism list. This international inability to deal with the Arab situation will be alongside the conflicts of interests of the great powers in the region, which will greatly increase their inability. The question now is, "What role can Islamism play during this dangerous phase in the life of the Ummah?" "What undertaking can it get involved in during this phase?" "What are the chances of success?"

At the outset, I say that under this looming anarchy, no partial measures will have a chance of success during these new circumstances. We add that the size of the presence that the Jihadist movement has achieved in the Arab countries is very small and scattered. This makes any independent effort a puff of smoke. I do not intend here that we abandon the strategy of international Jihad and attacking the Zio-crusaders everywhere. Discussion of this issue will come, Allah willing. The intention here is to discuss the best and most complete strategy for entering into this phase and to exploit its current circumstances, in which independent efforts would fail, if they are not employed for a common purpose.

To depart from the sphere of theorization, I say that the Arab people have undertaken these revolutions to obtain a better situation with regard to freedom, dignity and standard of living etc. The Arabs will understand that democracy will not give them any of that, especially when they see with their own eyes that the preachers and leaders of democracy from western countries are the ones who are going to spoil democracy itself for them with their evil interference in their internal affairs. Parallel to that, continuous anarchy and sectarian and civil wars will begin to take effect. The effects of the wars will begin to appear such as migrations, massacres and destruction. Here the Psyche of these segments of society, who are the greater majority, will be ready to welcome any power capable of providing security and stability, even if that were a foreign power. This is what happened to the Palestinians when they resorted to the Israeli army after the terror that they encountered at the hands of the Christian brigades at Sabra and Shatila. That is also what happened with the Kuwaitis and Saudis when they accepted the entrance of U.S. forces into the Arab Peninsula out of fear of Saddam Hussein's tyranny. Well... When the great powers don't find benefit in intervening or if they are unable to do so, as expected, then the only solution will be a local power. This is exactly what happened with the Taliban Movement in the story of its domination of Afghanistan and its arriving at the seat of power in Kabul. The balance of power in Afghanistan was found in the Afghani political parties that did not democratically agree with each other and a deep-seated long term conflict erupted. Along with that, there began to be waves of migration and loss of

security etc. There was also a lack of international concern with this location after the removal of the Russian threat, so the Taliban came along as the situation necessitated. They stopped the hands of the aggressors, secured the means and imposed security by force of arms. They began in the Sinj Sar region, then in Kashak Dhakhoud, and then arrived to Qandahar. People heard about them, and they received calls from cities and villages to come to them so that they entered into Kabul in 1996. The Taliban Movement in the previous example did not offer any development projects or political visions. It didn't have popularity like the rest of the parties in order to gain the welcome and acceptance of the Afghan people. However, they had one commodity, which the people were looking for in the midst of the chaos. That is the security that they were able to provide with the blessing of the Praiseworthy and Exalted Allah.

I understand now that whoever reads these words will accuse me of being unrealistically fanciful. I also understand that people by their nature become biased by the details of what they are used to in their environment. This is what makes the majority not believe that it is possible for anything to happen. Whoever reads the memoirs of European politicians from the World Wars I and II, will find that the political atmosphere was indicating that war was coming without an escape. However, none of them wanted to believe that. This is basically attributed to a scientific principle of how man perceives what is taking place around him. Some researchers in the United States of America conducted a good experiment to demonstrate this idea. During this experiment, 20 pictures of a dog gradually changing to a cat were shown. The change between each picture and the next was very slight, but the last picture was of a cat without a doubt. The people that viewed them all, sensed the change at the 18th or 19th picture. That means that the dog had become 90 percent cat at the time when everyone believed that it was still a dog. Likewise, events around us are reaching the depths of the anarchy phase, which we are now seeing, and we still think or we don't want to believe that it has happened and the world has changed around us.

OK. Seeing that we expect to enter the violent anarchy phase, the signs of which are in view now, we cannot be satisfied with military undertakings that exploit the new reality without having a practical vision of what we can do in the political and economic spheres after the first phase of strength. To be more precise, I mean that we must offer an integrated program to treat all of the challenges at the local, regional and international levels. This reminds me of a comparable circumstance, when some American experts met during World War II to study what the United States of America could reap from that war. Dr. Abdelhai Zaloum commented in his book, *"The Offerings of Globalism"* about the nature of these meetings and some paragraphs from the studies that came from them are as follows:

During this phase of American history, there were no allocations in the U.S. Department of State to provide the finances and employees necessary to carry out these types of studies. Therefore, the leaders of the State Department approved the proposals of the council. When the war had reached its end, the participation between the two sides had yielded 682 secret memoranda for the government. The Rockefeller Foundation had provided some of the finances

needed for this mission. A selection from a secret memorandum from the council's economy and finance group dated April 1941 follows. The writers of the memorandum acknowledged that the proposed world economy was designed to serve the American Empire. We are using here the same wording that they did. The plan was very detailed to the point that the details of how the people should accept this plan were explained and demonstrated, "If the goals of the war are established, and they are only concerned with the Anglo/American empire, and they do not relate to anything worth mentioning regarding the rest of the peoples of the earth, the announcement of these goals could provide power to the reactionaries in the United States of America and the British Empire. The benefits to the people must be made apparent not only in relation to the Europeans, but also those located in Asia, Africa and Latin America. That will make our propaganda more influential." On July 24, 1941, Memorandum 24 EB, which the council prepared and submitted to President Roosevelt, defined the concept of the Grand Area. This is the area, according to what the memorandum specified that the United States must have hegemony over to ensure raw materials for the markets. This memorandum recommended that a financial organization be established that would oversee the stability of the prices of foreign currency while providing sufficient liquidity to facilitate commercial activities. This recommendation was put into effect, and the organization called the International Monetary Fund was established. The memorandum also recommended the establishment of another financial institution that would be responsible for providing investment capital to finance projects that they intended to carry out in the regions mentioned in the Grand Area plan to develop economic growth in them. This recommendation was also implemented, and the new organization was called the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and is known by the name the World Bank. We must point out that these studies presumed that the United States of America was going to enter the war before it was declared, and they assumed that the war would end with the victory of the United States and its allies.

I am trying to say in these pages, that we expect similar circumstances in the Arab region where the vacuum will result from the violent anarchy phase, and therefore we must have a complete plan for the region. Just as the idea of revolution moved and infiltrated from one country to the other because of similar circumstances, background and common denominators such as language, religion, history and customs, so our plan for the next phase must have an idea capable of crossing borders and moving between people that addresses their dreams and aspirations as the idea of revolution did. This leads us to the single idea that can bring together all Arabs and Muslims in general – that is the Caliphate. The Islamic Caliphate is the only political plan that will restore stability and security to the region. It is the only plan that will protect the wealth of the Ummah from the conspiracies of the great powers. It is the only one also that will restore the Muslims' first Qabla as well as other great common goals... But how?

Strategic Memorandum [2]

Near Collapse of the World Order and Dismantling of Sykes – Picot

Since 1923 (the date when the Lausanne Treaty between Ataturk and the English was signed, of which one of the most important articles was the abolition of the Islamic Caliphate) Muslims have been without a head to lead them and without an entity to bring them together. Since that date, no attempt to recover and restore the political identity of Muslims, represented by the Islamic Caliphate, has succeeded. This failure is attributed to the nature of the situation (a system of sponsored and client regimes). All the plans that comprised the restoration of the Caliphate or the implementation of Shariah were thwarted by the action of one these two wings or by cooperation between them. The Islamic governments that were established in Afghanistan in 1996, Chechnya in 1996, Somalia in 2006 and Iraq in 2006 were aborted by direct and near direct intervention from the great powers. All of the Jihadist groups that fought to restore the Caliphate and implement Shariah in Syria in 1979, in Algeria in 1992 and Egypt 1995 were thwarted by the client Arab regimes. This world order, agreed upon by the great powers that protect the region and the client regimes, absolutely forbids the establishment of anything like these political and military entities because of the grave danger they are to the world order. This world order stands on the basis of making these regions vital areas for the great powers. Any plan to return to the Islamic Caliphate would not only deprive them of that, but would also ruin it for the world order agreed upon internationally. It is known that the Islamic governments that enjoyed a period of time in power, always felt that their situations were exceptional and that their removal from power is nothing more than a matter of time. This is what happened with the Taliban, the government of Chechnya and the ruling Islamic Courts government (when it was Islamic) in Somalia. As long as the world order of sponsor and client regimes is operating, there is no room under this system for any political Islamic government to see the light of day, unless Allah wills for it to. That is even if the plan is camouflaged or doesn't call for the implementation of Shariah or the restoration of the Caliphate such as the government of the Hamas Movement or the Moro Islamic Movement. The President of Sudan Omar al-Bashir understood this point after he fulfilled the command to implement Shariah in Sudan and then bowed to Western pressure and cancelled the Islamic Shariah project. He then started using the implementation of Shariah card as a means of pressure and threat if the sanctions imposed on him by the Security Council and International Court continued. This is what an Islamist intellectual also understood a long time ago when he said that it is not possible to be an Islamic country in the true sense of the word until this world order is removed or changed. That is what has begun to happen now... But how?

When I was monitoring the course for the Arab revolutions, I kept seeing that the magnitude of consequences of each event was constantly becoming greater than the previous one, just like rolling a snow ball that keeps increasing in size. When the Ben Ali regime fell, the theory of iron fisted security fell with it. The Arab peoples began to break the barrier of fear, which long had stood between them and demanding their rights. When the Mubarak regime fell, discussion began of the erosion of Egypt's role in supporting the West in the region. When the revolution ignited in Libya, the fears began to cross the

Arab World borders to Europe because of the growing fears of group migrations. They also crossed to the depths of Africa because of the movement of fighters and smuggling of weapons all across North Africa. Now the fears are far greater after the Mujahideen have taken control of Tripoli and included the revolutionaries under their leadership. Events moved little by little until the circumstances in Yemen exploded, and so the magnitude of international fears increased at the same time of the revolution in Syria, which has promise of good news for the collapse of the system of countries that surround Israel. Observers note instances of the political, military and media impotence to limit the effects of the Arab revolutions even at the international level after the Arab Spring, as it is called by the West, has become an inspiration to the people of Europe and a motivation for youth and workers movements to reject the plans for economic austerity and to protest the financial corruption in Greece, Spain and elsewhere. What is laughable is that the Jews themselves have been affected by their neighbors and have started using well-known Arabic expressions (The people want the regime to fall) during demonstrations criticizing the problems of housing and high cost of living.

This accelerated growth of the magnitude of the effects of the Arab revolutions is attributed to numerous causes, which a man cannot describe; neither can he provide specific patterns for them. Everything that is in the Arab revolutions calls for escalation and continuation. I would like to go on record here and say that the fall of the Ben Ali and Mubarak regimes liberated many of the shackles that were binding the media and academia in the past. Now we see more transparency in showing the facts, criticizing governments and calling things by their names without embarrassment or fear. Moreover, we have begun to see media camps directed against a specific country to support the revolution in it. We have seen other camps of media channels and legal organizations against another regime and so forth. The freedom of speech in the media and religion will have a far-reaching effect on uncovering the local and international attempts to contain the Arab revolutions, and this is what the man on the Arab street is beginning to grasp day by day, and therefore the men in the second tier of the Ben Ali and Mubarak regimes will not succeed in retaining the reins of power. This is attributed to the awareness on the Arab street of the truth of the matter, thanks to Allah and then to the transparency in the media, which it has achieved since the period of Arab revolutions. We mean to say here, that the Arab revolutions will not stop at just brining down some regimes and the shrinking of other regimes in defending themselves from the expansion of the revolutions, but they will go much farther than that. The momentum of the Arab street against the rest of the regimes that will fight to defend their existence under the prevailing situation of violent anarchy will result in bringing about a state of general paralysis in the system of Arab cooperation and the ability of each Arab regime to help another regime. This impasse resulting from the fall of some regimes and the clamor for the fall of some others is the true destruction of the buttresses of Sykes-Picot. This is because this violent anarchy will subject the map of the Arab world to new changes in the balances of political and military power, it will create areas without central control, and it will bring about new alliances in the region. At the same time, it will revive tribal, sectarian and racial loyalty. This will lead the movement within the Arab region to ignore recognized borders that were produced by Sykes-Picot with measurements that ensured the smallness of some countries such as Bahrain and Lebanon so that they would remain loyal to the

sponsoring countries in exchange for protection from the domination of bigger powers surrounding them, and the increase of the size of other countries so that they would play a regional role in managing the area as a proxy state. Since we are talking about the imminent collapse of the Sykes-Picot system in the next phase, then this means that one of the two wings of the sponsor/client system will have passed away. We still have to look at the remaining wing... Does it still have the same power that enabled it in the past to thwart projects for reestablishing the Caliphate or is there something that had changed?

Truly, I am writing these words at the same time that Congress is butting heads with the Administration in the United States about raising the United States' debt level and avoiding the United States of America declaring bankruptcy. Truly, I may find someone to argue that America may be exposed to a complete collapse of its federal union, but I haven't found anyone among those whom are considered political and economic experts, who is arguing that America is going let go of the rudder of world leadership and pull back behind the ocean like it did in the aftermath of World War I. However, the difference is that the policy of isolationism, which President Wilson followed at that time, was under a federal union and a public opinion that chose that policy after the horrors of World War I. It was not forced upon it as is expected now. The war, which al-Qaeda has embarked upon against the Zio/Crusader alliance and its leader America, has caused the latter into an unprecedented state of economic drain. There is enough proof for us in that the U.S. administration announced the so called war on terror, and the Pentagon budget for the following year was equal to all of the ministries of defense budgets of the world together. Less than 10 years since this war, America itself is on the verge of bankruptcy as a direct result of the September 11 attacks and the wars that followed. (See the book: *The Three Trillion War – The True Cost of the Afghanistan and Iraq Conflict*, written by researcher Linda Bilmes and Professor Stiglitz, who won the Nobel Prize in Economics.) The problem here is that America has not left behind anyone who is able to fill the vacuum after it with the same competence and ability. The inability of Britain and France to deal with the Libyan situation without U.S. military support is the best evidence of that. America was an unprecedented power in its political, military and economic capabilities. America achieved near complete control of international institutions such as the United Nations, the Security Council, The World Bank, the Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization, which is the organization responsible for managing the security and economy of the world. According to Pentagon reports, America has 716 military bases in 38 countries around the world. It has achieved a military presence in 110 countries. It has a quarter of a million soldiers on these bases. It is the only country in contemporary history that has been able to impose its own system on the entire world and to punish whoever leaves this system no matter who it may be.

We have a new status quo in the balance of power ahead of us like what is going to occur with us in the Arab region. However, now it will be on the worldwide level and with the world powers. In other words, I am saying that the modern world order that was formed after World War II resulted in two camps without a third. The United States and the Soviet Union became the two poles of the struggle, which most of the countries of the world revolved around. This was characterized in that any country in the world are even a military or political organization such as the Palestinian Liberation Organization entering

into a military or political conflict with a another party that belonged to one of the two poles would be able to obtain direct support via the other pole. This is what happened with Egypt after 1967. Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser was following the path of neutrality and non alliance at first. However, when he entered a conflict with Israel that belonged to America, he automatically joined the Soviet camp to receive political and military support. This bipolar international environment gave maneuvering space to the other parties and to all the political and military movements, which led coup d'états, benefited from this atmosphere in one way or the other. So when this world order collapsed with the fall of the Soviet Union in the early nineties and the breakup of the Warsaw Pact, America debuted as the single pole of the new world order. This collapse left all political organizations exposed and subservient in varying degrees to the American master. Any future collapse of America is going to leave the world without a power capable of leading and forming the necessary alliances to manage its conflicts. The international organizations such as the United Nations and the Security Council will lose their ability to control conflicts and impose sanctions because there won't be a main player to manage it. This is the same situation that the League of Nations went through in the late thirties, which led to its collapse due to the lack of respect for its resolutions that were not supported by a feared power on the international scene. There will be some sort of balance of power between Russia, China, India and Britain in addition to Germany and Japan after they are freed of the restrictions imposed on them since their great defeat in World War II. This will give much greater maneuvering space than there was during the bipolar era. I am able to say that with the imminent breakup of the world order of sponsor and client represented in the collapse of the Sykes-Picot system, we will have arrived at a climate that is suitable for beginning the implementation phase of the plan to restore the Islamic Caliphate. To be clearer, I am saying that this is the first time since the collapse of the Caliphate in 1923 that the womb of the Ummah is ready to protect the embryo of the Caliphate. But how?

[The Two Arm Theory]

When we want to talk about a project as great as the re-establishing of the Islamic Caliphate, the discussion will lead us to consider many principles and provisions needed for the success of the idea. Since we have talked about the suitable climate for the birth of an undertaking such as this, we having nothing left but to begin laying out the necessary provisions for that and specify the strategic features, which can be worked through, during this phase. Before beginning that, I say that all successful undertakings have begun with a dream. History has related to us stories and accounts of people who seem insignificant at the beginning, but their ideas have changed the course of events and wars afterward. Among them was the British journalist Liddell Hart, "who was in the ranks of the British Army in World War I. He saw with his own eyes the tragedies of trench warfare and the extent of the stalemate it brings about in the progress of the war. He decided to research what could tip the scales of wars and break the stalemate, and he wrote his famous strategy the *Indirect Approach*. It was met with severe disapproval from the leaders of the British Army and similar disdain from the British press. However, the German staff organization paid attention to the sagacity of the man's ideas and used it in the theory of Blitzkrieg, by which Hitler swept through Western and Eastern Europe 1939,

1940 and 1941. These are the years that historians call the years of victory. Truly, minds and hearts did not absorb the quality of these ideas in their time, and they were disregarded even though they came from a well-thought-of person and not an obscure journalist. The atomic scientist, upon whose ideas the nuclear bomb was built and who developed the theory of relativity, the German Einstein was asked one time about the next world war and with which weapon humanity will ignite it. He replied, "I am unable to say anything." It was said to him, "Forty broadcast stations and 3000 newspapers are waiting for you answer." He said, "I am unable. I don't know." After being urged by the questioners several times, he replied, "With the slingshot." Some were amazed at Einstein's aforementioned answer in view of the great development in the instruments of war. However, whoever carefully examined the answer and its implications saw that he was very close to reality. Even though World War I depended on horses, rifles and field artillery, the most precise statistics of the number of dead were 37,508,000. This amount includes the number of prisoners and missing. As a result of the war, four empires collapsed, which were the Russian czars, the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. World War II used better weapons, and the war ended with 58,800,000 military and civilian dead according to one set of statistics. Some cities in the heart of Europe reverted to their medieval state after the prolonged destruction, killing and displacement from homes. All things considered, any world war with nuclear weapons will not be able to estimate the number of dead, and there won't be any infrastructure to produce modern weapons. Therefore, people will return directly to throwing weapons and even the sword and slingshot. Now we understand Einstein's previous answer. I would like to say here that these visions are built on the coming environment and on the basis of considering the political, military, economic and historical aspects needed to make this big undertaking successful. These are not philosophical words about a world other than the one that we live in. Because of that, I say that it will be easy for us under the looming circumstances in the next phase to use the geographical areas, in which central control is going to be lost, to establish an Islamic Emirate as a nucleus for the Islamic Caliphate. These would be areas such as the Sinai, al-Anbar, the Libyan oases or Darfur and the Western Sahara. We will have established the rule of Allah in a geographical area and over its inhabitants. But then what? Nothing. Because in areas like these, we cannot mobilize the Islamic street. That is because they are areas of less importance in relation to others and could be marginal. The elevations of these areas do not have the natural obstacles and barriers from which the enemies' superior weapons such as planes and tanks can be neutralized. These areas don't have the natural resources that could be invested to push the wheels of growth and build military forces except in a rare case. We may not even succeed in securing the basic necessities of life for the population. Any economic sanctions imposed on areas like these would bring true disaster contrary to what would be where there was self sufficiency in water, food and basic needs. Considering these aspects reminds me of the sharp discussions among the Jews of the world during the 1897 Basel Congress. The Congress rejected Herzl's proposal to make Uganda or Argentina the homeland for the Jewish national undertaking even though the possibility of obtaining approval of the colonial powers for the requested lands was assured and the finances for that had been collected. However, Herzl did not understand that the inclination of the Jews would not be towards anything other than Palestine because of the religious and historic significance that Palestine represents to

them. Therefore, Palestine was chosen for the national project for the Jewish state to begin with agricultural colonies and to end with the declaration of the Jewish state within 50 years. That is the period of time between the first Congress of 1897 and the declaration of the state in 1948. The Jewish propaganda to gather and settle the Jews was issued, and it relied on several components that did not leave the regular Jew any option to refuse the offer, because immigration to Palestine would give him the opportunity to work and live comfortably in the land of milk and honey as they call it. Above all this, it was a religious and historic duty for the sake of the land of the ancestors. Therefore, they relied upon an emotional slogan to connect them to the land. That is, “Returning to Mount Zion”. This is where their name Zionists appeared.

I would like to veer off to an extremely important point before presenting the proposed strategy. That is the issue of winning minds and hearts that needs take place before implementing the steps of the project. The Islamic Ummah has lost the meaning of the Caliphate and the importance of this citadel in protecting the religion as well as the lives, capabilities and standing of the Ummah. Since the fall of the Caliphate about 88 years ago now, the thoughts, minds and hearts of Muslims have not tasted, have not been reared upon, nor have been nourished except by imported ideas such as patriotism, nationalism and party loyalty. It has increased discrimination among Muslims, and so the Arab deals with the Turk as a Turk and the Iranian as an Iranian regardless of his religion. From there the idea of nationalism is fragmented into little bits. The matter has ended with a bitter reality that the doctrine of al-Wala wa-al-Bara has been erased or watered down among Muslims. Therefore, regarding the winning of hearts and minds, we find that the history of conflict between countries and political groups always starts with promoting specific ideas through political parties, think tanks and the media in every country such as how the Nazi party in European countries paved the way for German victories in World War II; the communist parties assisted in bringing about the success of many coup d'états around the world; American universities formed a class of educated people loyal to American values and policies in every country. And so it is with the dependent countries, since every regime has an ideological character that endeavors to bring people together and propaganda aimed at the local population. Most of the time, the propaganda is in the early stages such as occurred with the vanguards of the Baath party in Syria and the Revolutionary Councils in Libya and other organizations. The propaganda is carefully aimed to build society on the specific ideas that serve the existence of the regime. A living example of the process of winning hearts and minds in our day would be what the Kurdish groups and organizations are doing regarding the Kurdish state issue even though the Kurdish nation is dispersed throughout a geographical area that is divided between Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria, and these are countries that have a long history of suppressing Kurdish separatist movements. However, the Kurds have so far succeeded in spreading the idea of the Kurdish state among them as a plan to free them from all kinds of oppression and marginalization that they suffer in those countries. This idea has become the seat of their hopes in spite of all the afflictions they suffer simply for dreaming of a Kurdish state. This idea has reached its pinnacle in Northern Iraq when the Kurdish parties succeeded in achieving a popular consensus on the rights of the Kurds to an entity independent of the rest of the country, preparing the way for complete separation in the next phase. One of the Kurds dispelled the astonishment at the

unanimity among the Islamic, secular, and Socialist movements among the Kurds by his statement, “They were adding the idea of our own state to our baby milk! That means all Kurds young and old think about the idea of their own state morning and evening.”

It is good for us that in the coming phase, we will enjoy some freedom in the media as a result of the Arab revolutions. Thereby, it is possible as of now for us to put a long range strategy in place that includes various media outlets such as video publications, books, studies, press conferences and intellectual seminars. These can be intensified over a period of three to five years to create intellectual acceptance, or at least we can make the plan for the Islamic Caliphate a frequently discussed matter by the regular man on the street when he wants to discuss the solutions to the circumstances around him. I believe that the story of the success of Sayyed Qutb and Abdallah Azzam, may Allah have mercy on them, in reviving and spreading some buried terminology is the best example of that. The first one dedicated most of his writings to explaining the term al-Hakemeeyah (the sovereignty of Allah) and its reality in the life of contemporary Muslim society. The second one traversed the earth north and south – east and west via hundreds of lectures, newspaper interviews and conferences as well as through numerous publications to promote the obligation of Jihad and to revive it in the lives of Muslims. No one argues about the effect of either of them on the entirety of Muslim thought and on Jihadism in particular. It is important to benefit from the heritage that some Hizb ut-Tahrir, Muslim Brotherhood and other intellectuals have left us about the term “Caliphate” and it’s religious, political and economic importance. An enterprise like that of the Caliphate carries within it many ideas about a common Islamic market, a unified system of defense, political rights in Shariah, systems of civics and comprehensive education etc. These are components, which some nations have sought to achieve together in a way that would ensure the greater their interests such as the European nations that came together in three entities to achieve their strategic goals. These are the European Common Market as a comprehensive economic system, The European Union as an independent political entity and the NATO alliance as a military system that works for the peace and safety of the countries of the alliance.

This mobilization of minds and hearts is the joint responsibility of the intellectuals of the Ummah, as well as its preachers and media organizations. Our personal responsibility is hidden in that we work as a propellant of the idea until it takes its place in the minds of Muslims, just as we did in the aftermath of the New York and Washington attacks. It was Allah’s plan that the people had closed off all the ways and means to get to the battle fronts to all those who support and love Jihad. Getting to the lands of Jihad had become a dream or near impossible except for those for whom Allah had facilitated that. Therefore, most of the supporters turned to what has come to be known as the electronic Jihad as a substitute, by which Allah forgives them. They exerted themselves there and became experts in Dawa and exhortation. They succeeded in bringing the voice of the Mujahideen and the idea of Jihad to the entire world. Evidence for the greatness of this success comes from the acknowledgment of U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld that America had lost the internet war to the Mujahideen. However in spite of the importance of this role, I hold to the psychological principle that says that the successful example is the best advertisement for the idea that stands behind it. In other words, in

order for us to win the support and attention of the Islamic street for the idea of restoring the Caliphate, we need to present a small example and an ideal pattern for what life could be in Muslim society when Shariah is applied in real life and when it stems from Islamic principles that the noble religion brought. We need to give examples of supporting Muslims' issues and a model of good management of resources, establishment of security, excellence in child rearing and other benefits. If these are brought together in a specific place on the earth with a government to oversee it, it will be an indirect example that addresses people's understanding and reforms their convictions without any direct influence from us. It will merely be a successful example of what the Caliphate could be. Here the idea leaves the sphere of theorizing, books and studies to reality on the ground that is seen and felt, since human nature is not predisposed to mere ideas, which it may not understand, unless these ideas are embodied in reality on the ground. Many with potential in the Ummah accept and ascribe to the ideas that we hold about Jihad and the necessity of ruling by Shariah etc. However, the problem is with not being able to visualize it at the present time. Therefore, the excuse would be that he is with you regarding Jihad being the solution, but how are we able to wage Jihad when our enemies the Jews and Americans have modern aircraft, missiles, satellites and other advanced weapons, and we don't have any of that or what is close to it? This excuse could be a big obstacle to bringing these capable people to us. They may not be convinced by our words about the methods of defending against the enemy and the tactics of neutralizing superior weapons. They may not be convinced that it is possible to fight, exhaust and overcome the enemy given time. However, the argument stops when we give a living example and successful model. We say that the Soviet Union had the same weapons, and Allah made us victorious over it, and we begin to bring the picture closer by providing a living example. This is what we must depend upon in order to gain the support and sympathy of the Islamic street for the plan to restore the Caliphate. Therefore, we begin the process of winning minds paralleled with a real life example that embodies the ideas that we are calling for. This is what will make intellectuals, missionaries and preachers say to their congregations in all parts of the Islamic world, "Look at such a country; look at the blessing of applying Shariah... Take a close look at the blessing of security, societal solidarity, the glory of the Muslim and the superiority of his religion... Why are we not like them? Where do we fall short? What is forcing us to follow these man-made laws that Allah did not send down for government? What has been separating us up until this point?" Intellectual mobilization along with the real life example will give birth to these types of questions from the general public. This is guaranteed, with Allah's permission, to break down the barriers that the West has placed between Muslims and between Muslims and their Shariah. The truth of this direction is confirmed to me by the case of when the Muslims received the government of Medina; they ended the civil war between the al-Aus and the al-Khazraj, and they maintained peace. When they removed the Jews from Medina, commercial activity was not affected even though the Jews were the jewelers, gold merchants and financiers. In general Medina witnessed construction, commercial, military and educational activity that was unprecedented during the era of the prophet's life. This is the good example of administration and government, the supports for which were cemented by the prophet, blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, in the political, economic and military fields. The Arabs were encouraged to comply and join the Islam, since not everyone that joined the religion, joined it out of conviction.

The prophet, blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, was giving himself and his society, which he ruled, as successful examples of justice, equality, protecting rights and other intended benefits of Shariah. When Allah's victory and conquest came, people came at that time in waves to the religion after they saw some of the glory of this religion and its unique order. This is what we must offer to the Muslim peoples so that none of them will say, "You want to turn our country into another Somalia."

It must be pointed out here that the expected circumstances in the period that lies ahead will not require of us to provide the same services that are currently commonplace. This is because the climate of war and the accompanying anarchy will eliminate the luxuries of life, and the people's attention will be focused on necessities and basic services such as food, water, security followed by medical services, health expenses, fuel and things of similar importance. These basic services do not require the complications of modern systems in the wealthy countries to administer them. Therefore, we find that the Jihadist experiment that has been successful in administration has been found in poor countries such as Afghanistan, Chechnya and Somalia. This is because the people of these countries do not demand more than the basic services, which the governments appointed by the Mujahideen have succeeded in providing. This is the opposite of what the matter would be had it been in Dubai or Riyadh, because the residents of these cities would never accept less than the luxurious lifestyle that they are used to. However, I believe that the looming violent anarchy in the Arab region will reshape the circumstances of life in a way that the focus will be on the basic necessities as happened during the siege of Iraq and the blockade of Gaza. Many of the customs of the Iraqis and Gazans changed in their means of living, storage and types of food. Good efforts were seen on how to depend on local production of some equipment and devices, which were difficult to bring from abroad because of the blockade. Interest in popular medicine appeared in place of modern medicine. This means that the circumstances of the blockade and war reformed the way of life to something different than it used to be. This is what could happen in a greater way if war is combined with anarchy.

Strategic Memorandum [3]

Now that we have defined the climate that may prevail in the upcoming phase and now that we have made a proposal for restoring the Caliphate as a strategic plan that can be implemented according to the background and requirements of the next phase and now that we have understood the importance of winning the hearts and minds with an ideal example that could emulate the Caliphate and be the nucleus for it, the only thing that is left to do is to put the map of the Arab World on the table and then discuss the best locations that are suitable as a starting point for this plan according to the provisions and needed requirements, the most important of which are:

First: It cannot be a politically dead area or dead with regard to vital interest such as some provinces in Sudan, Somalia, Mauritania, Upper Egypt and other areas that do not enjoy the factors that make them vital to the Islamic street. If we were to take for example the wars that America launched in Afghanistan and Iraq and even though they were with the same equipment and violence, the war in Iraq was able to stir up the Islamic street and muster it behind the Mujahideen. This is because it is a vital area, and it had a great role in the history of Islam. It is easy for supporters and support to get there, and it has the means of communication to cover the affairs of the war one at a time. A car bomb barely explodes when dozens of eye witnesses, analysts, reporters and others come out to comment on the incident. This is what gave the daily occurrences of the war in Iraq additional momentum because they occurred in an area where nothing could be hidden. That was just the opposite of Afghanistan where entire villages could be annihilated without anything being mentioned about it in the media, because media activity was centered in the cities. The rest of the areas lacked media coverage. Therefore, we must invest our efforts in a geographical area of vital interest in order for us to get the desired results for success in the first phase.

Second: It must be in a place that includes or is near to areas of religious influence. History testifies that the Caliphate was always connected to whoever controlled Mecca because the Muslims pray toward it, and it is the symbol that they gather around. Therefore, Islamic Caliphs throughout the ages have strived to address them from the pulpit in the Haram in the early days of their rule to add religious legitimacy to the transfer of power to them or to their victory. This importance also goes to the prophet's city of Medina as well as to Jerusalem, because these three cities have the mosques that are travelled to the most. These are the areas of religious influence in the Islamic world, and it is important for the Caliphate plan that it be connected geographically with one of these three areas in the upcoming phase to give it religious legitimacy in the eyes of the Muslim public. I do not mean that it is an actual requirement to begin the Caliphate. It is a discussion of a historic tradition connected with the Caliphate. The Caliphate began in Medina and moved in the era of Abdallah bin al-Zubair to Mecca. The prophet, blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, said that it would come to Jerusalem.

Third: The geographic location should include defensible lands to assist military defense operations with natural barriers such as mountains, jungles, swamps, forests and other obstacles, which would impede the movement of regular armies and neutralize some

superior weapons such as aircraft and armor. Even though I believe that the next phase will be in open areas, it is necessary that there be a protected base that uses natural factors, so that the forces will not be subjected to mass destruction if they are exposed to large scale air campaigns or massive envelopments by armored forces. Contemporary military history testifies that whoever makes the best use of topography has the best chance to achieve victory in battle even if the opponent possesses superior power. When Germany swept through Russia in operation Barbarossa, Russia masterfully drew the Germans through hundreds of miles of vast Russian lands and followed the scorched earth policy until the Germans reached the outskirts of Moscow. The hardship and bitter cold exhausted them. The Russians then launched a counter attack, which didn't stop until they reached the heart of the German capital. The same can be said about the revolutionary wars in Vietnam, Cuba and other places. All of them relied on the ground cover to attack the enemy, exhaust him and then annihilate him. Whoever looks at the record of Jihadist experience will find that it perseveres in areas that have natural obstacles such as Afghanistan, Chechnya and Algeria, which are characterized by mountains and forests. It does not persevere in open areas such as Egypt and the Arab Peninsula. There is no exception to that unless someone masters the use of dense buildings and population to cover their movement and military presence as is the case in Iraq. Therefore, we must take the topographical factor into consideration for our activities in the first phase because the fiercest military operations will take place in it.

Fourth: Food security – meaning that the place must include agricultural areas, rivers and natural lakes to be a self sufficient base for food and water. The importance of this is hidden in that areas that are self sufficient in water and food are more able to be steadfast in the face of a blockade or economic sanctions of any type. The embargo that the West imposed upon Iraq between 1991 and 2003 did not lead to Saddam Hussein's surrender throughout that period because Iraq enjoys two rivers flowing through its land and vast agricultural lands sufficient to feed the Iraqis. It would be the opposite if that embargo were on Qatar, Kuwait or other countries that live on food reserves imported from abroad and on desalinized sea water. Both would cease in an embargo or the ravages of war. Therefore, food security must be considered and discussed when locating a place suitable for beginning the first phase of the Caliphate plan.

Fifth: The helpful nature of the population. That is that human characteristics of the people in the area have an acceptable percentage of religious conviction, bravery, tolerance of hardship, rugged living and ability to move and openness. Most of the time, the existence of or lack of reaction to an event is attributed to the human characteristics of the population. The colonial powers studied the human characteristics of every people during the exploration phase and before direct occupation to know the keys to dealing with the population of the area and the dangers that could result from being present among them. More important than that is how to make these people submit? *The Encyclopedia Britannica* takes from these studies on the characteristics of the Arabs in the Arab Peninsula. It says, "With regard to their natural constitution; they are among the strongest and noblest of the human race in the world. Physically, they will only submit to a few types of humans. That is if they submit to any of them. Intellectually they are superior to most races of people. There is no limit to their ability to progress except their

notable inability to organize and their inability to work together.” The colonial powers suffered from the strong resistance of some peoples. The Russians suffered from the bravery of the peoples of the Caucasia. The Italians suffered from the refusal of the Libyans to submit to the foreigner. The Soviet communists suffered from the Afghans' love for the Islamic religion. The opposite of that was the easy implementation that the colonial plans enjoyed among peoples who were not helped by the human characteristics of resistance to oppression, tyranny and servitude such as most of the peoples of India. Therefore, it is important that the area of the undertaking possess the human characteristics that accept Islamic ideas and are able to work with bravery and patience.

Returning to the Arab map, we find that these provisions are most prevalent in two areas of the Arab World. They are Yemen and Sham (the Levant). The two regions fall in vital areas of the heart of the Islamic World. We would be able from the two of them to motivate the Muslim public. They include defensible areas that are not bad with regard to natural barriers. They have water and food, which put them in sphere of being strong in food security. Yemen is close to religiously influential areas. It is territorially connected to the Hejaz where Mecca and Medina are. Jerusalem is in Sham, which includes Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine in addition to the Sinai. Regarding human characteristics of the two areas, it is sufficient to say that the people of Sham and Yemen are the ones, who participate the most in Jihadist matters. Just as the majority of the Jihadis in Afghanistan are from Yemen, there would not be Jihad in Iraq without the people from Sham. More than anything else, the prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, singled them out from the Muslim countries with praise and pleasant words. The virtues of Sham and Yemen appeared in many Hadeeths. Of them, this came from Abdallah bin Hawalah, “The prophet of Allah, blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, said, ‘You will find soldiers; soldiers in Sham, soldiers in Iraq and soldiers in Yemen.’” Abdallah said, “I stood up and said, ‘Choose for me, Oh messenger of Allah.’ He said, ‘Choose from Sham, and whoever refuses, send him to Yemen and let him face the consequences of his refusal, the Mighty and Glorious Allah guaranteed me Sham and its people.’” Rabee’ah said, “I heard Abu Idrees talking about this Hadeeth and saying that whomever Allah has taken under his care will never get lost.” al-Bukhari also wrote quoting Abdallah bin Omar, Allah be pleased with them, that the prophet, blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, said, “Allah put Sham in front of me and Yemen behind me and told me, ‘Oh Muhammad, I put in front of you a prize and an endowment and behind you a reinforcement.’” Edited by al-Albani in *Saheeh al-Jami*’.

Our interest in human factors is that the Yemenis and the men from Sham are the most disciplined military during wars, and they are the most suited for them. It has been known throughout Islamic history that the army is the army of Sham, and the support is the support of Yemen. The rest of the areas of the Arab World have some of the previous factors in varying percentages, but the areas of Sham and Yemen are the most suited with the necessary provisions for the choice of the area for the work, which will become the base from which the plan for restoring the Islamic Caliphate will begin. Someone may say under the looming circumstances of violent anarchy that it could be easy for us if there is anarchy and sectarian and tribal wars throughout the Arab Peninsula, to go straight to Mecca and take control of the government. We would then establish the

Caliphate without any strategies, phases or fatigue. These words might be true from an operational point of view, but they do not take into consideration the effect on the Islamic and Arab street. We would not get a lot of benefit because this approach would be understood as an attempt to bring the Mahdi or something like that. It would also be easy for the enemy media to manipulate or disguise the truth of the matter, and then there would be an operation to muster the Islamic street against us. The energy of the people or some of them would burst out to confront, contain and reject the plan for the Caliphate. This is what we do not want. This is what we tried to avoid when we put together the general strategy. The intention is to offer a plan for the Caliphate in a realistic way that would harness and embrace the sympathy and support of the Islamic street so that the project will be fulfilled; so that it would develop, grow and spread with a force equivalent to that of an idea that is supported by weapons. In order for this to take on reality in the eyes of Muslims, there must be an initial period of gaining strength along with a series of victories and a period of rightly guided rule. From there, we would advance to Mecca, Medina or Jerusalem to announce from above one of those places the only Islamic undertaking that is able to unify Muslims.

From my point of view, the shape of the previous movement is the closest to political and military reality in the Islamic World. I don't know whether to laugh or cry because while writing the lines of this memorandum, news came that the revolutionaries in Libya are facing tough and hard fighting by tribes loyal to Gaddafi. It has become evident after capturing groups of them that they believe and that it was said to them that they are fighting the NATO Alliance. This is with the international and local media serving the revolutionaries. How would it be if media distortions were directed against us, and we didn't have media services at the same level? In order to avoid dangers like this, our steps must be calculated and realistic without any untimely leaps so that the matter of restoring the Islamic Caliphate will get the preparation and grounding it deserves and needs for acceptance from the Islamic Street. We must take advantage of the chaotic climate, the transparency in the media and the freedom of religious expression, which is still on the increase since the break out of the Arab revolutions.

The Strategy of the Movement in the Two Arm Theory

I say, and success is from Allah, that the general strategy for the movement depends on mustering and focusing the Jihadist capabilities in the plan's two areas – Sham and Yemen. The rest of the fronts would be transformed to human and technical support and supply centers for the two areas of the project. At the same time, the rest of the fronts would be for immobilizing the enemy and keeping him busy, or they would be for threatening the enemy's vital shipping lanes that they use for military operations. I put the work of the undertaking in two areas rather than one to multiply the chances for success from the aspect that the two fronts and two areas would work like two arms, each one of which would cover the other. This would prevent concentrating any military efforts to target one front by itself. Accordingly, there would be a theatre of operations stretching from Sham to Yemen. It is possible to say the success of the Levant area depends on the pressure that the Yemen area applies against the enemy, and the opposite is true. It also depends on the rest of the fronts entering an operational network, as well as

stabilizing and covering these. This would be in addition to the other missions of the rest of the fronts in technical, personnel and information support. I proposed the method of working two arms during the first phase because I believe that the enemies, contrary to their appearance, will resort to forming a military alliance, whose mission would be to eliminate the Jihadist presence in Sham, which threatens the existence of Israel. Or the enemy alliance's mission would be to eliminate the Jihadist presence in Yemen, which threatens oil wells and important shipping lanes. It is better for us at that time to fight on two fronts supported by a series of partial fronts in Iraq, the Arab Peninsula, Egypt, Libya, Somalia, Islamic North Africa and others. This is because scattering the efforts of any military alliance requires locations for changing pressure and cover. That is most suitable in Sham and Yemen, because each of them is located in a beneficial ocean of humanity. Yemen will benefit from the Jihadist capabilities found in the Arab Gulf region, Somalia and Sudan because of the land and sea connection. Sham will benefit from the logistics and supply arms coming from Iraq, Turkey, Egypt and the northern Arab Peninsula. This phenomenon only needs anarchy to start working!

In order to zoom in on the picture more, I say that in our war against the Zio/crusader campaign, we have opened a number of fronts in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Waziristan, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia and Islamic North Africa. We have spread unencumbered military forearms in Sham and Europe. We have begun to reap the first fruits of the war that has been going on for ten years in the form of economic weakness that warns of the great collapse of the U.S. financial systems and the economies that belong to it. This is because of the war of attrition that the leadership has chosen as the mode of battle since that most important strategic directive from Sheikh Usamah Bin Laden, may Allah have mercy on him, called upon the Mujahideen to strike crucial American economic targets. There are other fruits that are no less important; the operation, to draw the Americans into open war with the Mujahideen, uncovered the ugly colonial face that is hidden behind the mask of the values of liberty, equality and others, by which it has deceived the Islamic World. America is stuck in its worst political, economic and military situation since its founding. What I want to say here is that the previous phase of the attack is almost at an end. Simply with a surprise announcement of the immediate withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan, we will find ourselves in a new situation that will require a new set of tactics to benefit from the results of the war. That does not mean that we will return to where we were in the secure safe havens of Afghanistan and elsewhere. They are on the margin and outside of the vital and influential areas as I indicated before. The best investment for the attack phase as with any war begins with multiple fronts that exhaust the enemy and wear him out until he arrives at the point of defeat. From there, we choose a front suitable for us to maneuver the rest of the forces or the general reserves to achieve victory at this point. If Napoleon and others used to apply that at the level of tactics, we must develop our ideas to apply them at the general strategic level. I understand that this strategy requires mustering the maximum of what can be mustered in human and technical capabilities in the two areas of the work. This requires removing many operational cadres from some fronts. Moreover, it requires a change in the mode and strategy of the work, since these will have become limited fronts. This could be difficult for some people, who were devoted to the accomplishments of the work in their lands. Their aspirations are there. They have covenanted for it with blood and fire. However,

there is no place for sentimentality in war and making policy for the work. There must be total resolve and a complete view with concern for what will benefit us as the Ummah rather than as an organization, group or even a Jihadist movement. For the sake of the importance of this very point, the first Muslims gave a golden rule and primary principle of military thought that Western and Eastern books and studies have subsequently passed down. That is, “Do not reinforce failure.” The first Muslims registered the experience from which this principle is derived. When the army of the Muslim besieged the stronghold of Taif and kept besieging it for forty days with the hope of conquering it, they suffered extensive casualties in their ranks. When the prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, studied the matter and sought counsel regarding it, he saw that there was no benefit in continuing the siege in view of these losses. However, some of the companions insisted on staying due to the importance of the fortress in their view, and their souls were devoted to conquering it. After that, when the injuries increased, they returned to the prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, convinced that there was no benefit in continuing to reinforce failure in order to conquer the fortress. So the herald called for breaking camp, and then it was not long before the fortress was conquered by another method. Therefore, we learn from this principle, which the Muslims established in their wars and which the military schools of the world have learned, that we should not waste time, effort and capabilities on a dead end. That is because it not only leads to a stalemate situation, but also goes beyond that to turn into an operation that truly depletes our capabilities that could be better used in another place. I wanted to anticipate what I needed to say in these words because the time has come for the Arab role in Afghanistan to decline because the reason for which they went there over 20 years ago to motivate, train and lead the conflict has come to fruition. Now all they need to do is reap the ripe fruit from it in the appropriate place. I also believe that the time has come for a large scale movement of operational forces from Iraq to within Sham to take over and participate in the responsibility of leading, training and steering the Jihad in the countries of Sham. I know that this point could be hard on the psyche of some, who are devoted to the Islamic State of Iraq for which the martyrs have shed their blood and laid down their necks. However, I say again, “Gentlemen, this is war.” How many cities have been left to their fate without protection and armies withdrawn from them to form a stronger line of defense? How many raids require that there be no treatment of the wounded and that they be left where they are because there is not sufficient time? War requires many similar measures that are not pleasant to the soul. In spite of that, I am not calling for evacuating the field. Rather, I am calling for the redirection of the primary effort. The war in Iraq has begotten extensive and valuable experience in the tactics of urban warfare and warfare in agricultural areas as well as in the methods of air defense and the technology of explosive charges, sticky bombs and silencers. Experience was gained in administrative and technical matters relating to internal organization and to dealing with the neighboring urban and tribal populations as well as with both hostile and neutral neighboring territories. Other experiences were gained, which make taking responsibility for Jihad in Sham a sacred trust on the heads of the of the Iraqi leadership just as Jihad in Iraq was a sacred trust on the people of Sham. Examples include Abu Mus’ab al-Zarqawi, Abu Mohamed al-Lubnani, Abu Anas al-Shami and many others. With that, I also want us to look at matters from an optimistic point of view. I have been saying for a long time that the success of the Sahwa Movement does not mean a lot,

because we have to look at Iraq as one of many fronts where we fought the Zio/crusader alliance. If we wanted to evaluate the work and results of each front to see to which one of them we owe the most for our steadfastness and victory, we would say without any hesitation that it was in Iraq alone where the back of the Zio/crusader campaign was broken. The hope of Jihad was revived in Iraq after the fall of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in 2001. Therefore, I used to say to whoever was by me, “If the Mujahideen in Iraq left their weapons and returned to their homes, we would say to them, ‘May Allah reward you with good on behalf of Islam and its people, because you have fully discharged your duty.’” I am not saying that to soothe the souls. The facts are there in the records of the war.

It is my belief, that this strategy with its clear roles will eliminate a large percentage of the haphazardness that stained the previous phase of the battle. I must point out here that the attack phase and the guerrilla warfare that we launched against the American coalition had some haphazardness due to the nature of guerrilla warfare, which requires and allows the likes of these operations. The phase of violent anarchy will require stronger organization with semi regular formations for military work. Meaning that the equation here is reversed, in the past we were affected by the climate of the world order because we revolted against its political and military laws. However, in the upcoming anarchy phase, we must be organized so that we can be influential in the upcoming chaotic climate. The haphazardness that dominated some operations in the previous phase will have no place at all in the next phase. Therefore, there will not be any room for private efforts under the strategic plan that brings together Jihadist forces in one system with specific roles to realize the ultimate goal, for which the Jihadist movement has gone through what it has gone through for the sake of obtaining it. Due to the importance of this model, the leadership must show more decisiveness and clarity in specifying the features of the plan and the required limitations on each party and the red lines that no one may cross or pull the current in their direction. This is so that we avoid any ill-advised or partial undertakings that would waste the general effort or have a contrary effect on it. The upcoming challenge for the leadership will be to devote itself to showing greater control of the primary and secondary theatre of operations. There are many examples of the danger of haphazardness in achieving the desired model in the method of leadership in the conflict during this phase. Of those, what comes to my mind is what happened with the Jewish groups after the phase when the state was declared. The Jewish army had been composed of several military and paramilitary organizations such as the Hajana, Argon and Stern. These organizations habitually committed acts of terror and intimidation against the Palestinians before and after the declaration of the state and against the British in the late phase shortly before the end of the British mandate to speed up their departure from the country. After that, when the Jewish politicians wanted to proceed with their settlement projects by steady and measured steps, they took into consideration the regional and international circumstances surrounding them. Some of the organized gangs from the army rebelled against that such as Stern and Argon, which were under the leadership of Begin. The Jewish leadership under Ben Gurion, who was the first prime minister, was faced with a huge challenge to show that it was in control of the reins of government. This situation would be the first situation that would determine if the Jews were able to conduct themselves as a state, or would they be unable to eliminate

haphazardness and lack of centralization that prevailed during many of the phases before the state. However, Ben Gurion understood the danger of that for all that the Jews had built. He established himself as a statesman and went to the extent of declaring war against these organizations if they didn't adhere to the policy of the state. Since we are in the phase that precedes the Caliphate and in the phase of strengthening that undertaking, we cannot go as far as Ben Gurion went. However, it is sufficient for us to follow some methods of the art of administration to benefit from the fields of activity that we will see in the next phase. This is in order for us to impose complete control over the administration of the plan. Because of that, I recommend that we work on incorporating some of the Jihadist groups that have not yet sworn allegiance to al-Qaeda or have decided not to announce it or have preferred to continue under another name to avoid the slander directed against al-Qaeda with local populations or to avoid the international pressure that this name could bring upon them. We then begin the process of fusing all the gathered forces, whether they be Jihadist, tribal or related to the Dawa in order to be allied together under a new entity with an inclusive name such as the Islamic Union, Ansar al-Shariah or otherwise in order to be elevated from our existence as separate Jihadist groups here and there to the level of a greater Islamic movement that would have offices and branches in most of the Islamic countries, with a Shura council, respected leaders and a semi regular army. This entity would take one of the areas of the plan, either Sham or Yemen, as its base and headquarters, from which it would practice its new role in leadership and direction. Due to this, two points would be added to our account, neither of which is less significant than the other. The first is that we would have taken on an Islamic identity whereby we would be able to express the hopes and aspirations of the Islamic street and its deep desire to restore the collective Islamic identity to the Ummah represented in the Islamic Caliphate. The second is that we would have a specific address for whoever wanted to put their hand with ours, or whoever would want to coordinate his efforts with ours, or whoever would want to ally with us on the basis of this idea. These two points (identity and address) are what would open channels for us to interact with regional and international powers on the basis of an equal footing. This will reshape commercial and military dealings on the basis of common interests and not the basis of a subordinate economy or administration as it was previously. We will then see all types of offers showered upon us from East and West and will see numerous attempts from those who want to be at peace with us or gain our support under the local and global balance of power. This is the picture of this phase. Nothing will spoil its splendor except the haphazardness or partial undertakings, which fly out of formation.

Truthfully, the previous period witnessed some success for military, political and Dawa organizations that came together under an independent identity and a specific address. They played an effective role, and the only thing that prevented that role from developing was the system of sponsor and client governments that would not let entities like these, which oppose the world order, grow. Some Shiite factions in Lebanon came together under the name Hezbollah, who adopted the principal of Islamic resistance to the Israeli occupation as its characteristic and its identity. With time it became a state within a state, and then it became the only state in Lebanon. Likewise after years of fighting and battling among themselves, Kurdish groups were able to come together with a group identity and a specific address. It was the State of Kurdistan. Had it not been for the complicated and

hostile environment where the Kurds are, their plan for nationality would be another matter. The same applies to the al-Turabi Movement in Sudan. It had created an identity for itself with an Islamic hue, and it was able to govern in Sudan. On account of that, it recruited four million Sudanese into its People's Army. Subsequently, the power of the movement was quickly diminished as a result of foreign and domestic pressures applied in Sudan. The most recent of the partial successes is what took place in Iraq when more than 12 Jihadist groups, representing the great majority of Jihadists in Iraq came together in the Mujahideen Shura Council. They entered into an alliance with some of the Iraqi tribes that was called the alliance the al-Mutayyibin. After that, all of these forces were fused into the Islamic State of Iraq, which played the role of the de facto government for a short period of time in some areas and cities. Had it not been for the relentless action of the system of sponsor and client governments and the sensitivity of Iraq's geographical location next to Jordan and Saudi Arabia and close to Israel, this undertaking would have been a different matter. That is, it might have been possible to gain strength and control like what happened with the Shabab al-Mujahideen Movement in Somalia or the Taliban in Afghanistan. However, the presence of a dangerous undertaking like this in the heart of the Sykes Picot system made the human devils and jinn, including Arabs, Europeans and others, mobilize to bury it no matter what the cost. Therefore, the countries surrounding Iraq formed the Conference of the Neighboring Countries to fight and contain the Jihadist expansion in Iraq.

Since the discussion has led us to alliances that could serve us during the upcoming phase, I have been wondering since the outbreak of the Arab revolutions if it is good for us to continue with the name al-Qaeda or will the next phase require a new name? The answer came from al-Qaeda in the Arab Peninsula when it entered into tribal alliances and changed its name to Ansar al-Shariah in order to acclimate and benefit from the new circumstances. For the sake of any expansion we want to achieve, we must forsake any cloak that others cannot wear. I add to that, if we don't want to avoid reality, we should acknowledge that this name has been tarnished by unprecedented disinformation campaigns through all these years alongside the gains and support that it had accomplished in the Islamic street. In order for us not to gamble the chances of our success in the coming phase because of the existence of old ideas in the minds of some, and in order to cut off the means of those who want to exploit these old ideas to turn the masses of people away from us, we must enter this phase under a new inclusive name. This is what some political powers did when they were running into obstacles that prevented them from continuing with the same name. As long as the political, military or Dawa undertaking has clear features, why hang on to what would hinder it? Therefore, we find that decisions to dissolve Islamic political parties in Turkey did not prevent them from changing the name and entering the ring again. The existence of agreement between some Israeli political parties did not prevent them from forming a new alliance under a new name like the Kadima Party. This works even at the level of Dawa projects. After the disinformation campaign, carried out against the Dawa of Imam Mohamed bin Abdel Wahhab, was successful in turning away some Muslims from his books, these books started getting printed under the name Mohamed al-Tamimi so that nothing would come between Muslims and what benefits them by way of inspiration. If the task and what is important is the victory of the religion, we must strip our souls of anything less than that.

Another question then occurred to me regarding the benefit of entering an Islamic alliance or forming an Islamic movement. We are now able to focus our efforts as a Jihadist movement in the coming phase with local alliances to establish a state, which would be the nucleus of the Caliphate. I had been considering which of the two paths would be better for us, and then it occurred that we can work on both paths as long as we put the first ahead of the second. We need to form an Islamic alliance as a working identity for us, and we would benefit from the media push for this and from the intellectual and emotional concentration that is going to accompany it. The members, intellectuals and preachers of this alliance would work on that concentration in preparation for the idea of the Caliphate. At the same time, this alliance would be forming a network of human, technical and financial support and supply centers including dozens of offices and centers in Islamic countries that would simultaneously work as coordination and intelligence cells. When we then reach full strength in one of the two areas or both of them, we would declare the state, which would be at the same time the nucleus of the Caliphate. The rest of the offices and branches abroad would become like embassies and consulates for the newborn state. This means the sought-after and desired Islamic alliance in the beginning phase of becoming strong would be like a laboratory, in which we would gain the necessary experience to administer the newborn state, which would not be declared until we have all the needed specialties and technical cadres to manage the infrastructure of the state according to the requirements of that period and according to the nature of the new political, economic and military movement. It is assumed that we will have become proficient at that time in living and operating under it. This is exactly what the Jewish planners adopted during the phases of establishing their state in the land of Palestine. I hope that the reader will excuse me for the frequency of citing the Jewish experience. They have gone through a situation that is similar to what we are coming upon. However, our case is far greater, bigger and it lacks the foreign support that the Zionist project had. Getting back to that, I say that the Jews began before everything else with a phase of general planning and discussions and refining the ideas in their congresses. The first of them began in Basel, Switzerland in 1897 under the leadership of Theodore Herzl, who came out of the first congress and said, "If you want me to summarize for you the proceedings of the congress, I am able to say that the Jewish state was established in Basel." They then began the implementation phase, for which many committees and financial funds were formed to purchase lands in Palestine and help Jews own them. This included the Jewish Bank that the Jewish businessman Rothschild established. This phase saw the coordination of immigration and settlement operations in Palestine by various ways and means. The Jews then learned that enticing Sultan Abdel Hamid II with gold and paying the national debt would not succeed in gaining one inch of Palestine for them. They tried pressure through the union, advancement and Jewish lobby groups in Salonika, and these also did not succeed. They then understood that the winds of change would not blow on the region until the Ottoman state entered World War I on the side of Germany and Austria. They saw in that the chance of a lifetime and the suitable climate to establish their presence. They sent their sons to join the allied forces and establish a Jewish battalion. This was after the British required them at the beginning to work in the pack mule brigade, which served the British armies in Eastern Europe. During this phase, they then infiltrated into the heart of the

ruling establishments in Western countries. They achieved successes and huge penetrations that served their purposes exemplified by support for immigration and Jewish rights in Palestine. Under this scenario, they came to have a network of technical and financial support offices around the most important capitals of the Western world. All of these offices and centers came together within Palestine and abroad under one name, "The Jewish Agency." It became the political identity for the Jews and an address for whoever wanted to talk to and cooperate with them. When they obtained the famous Balfour promise, the Jews began the work of administering side by side with the English officials, who were administering the government mandate in Palestine. Moreover, they intervened with the Ministry of Colonies in the British government to appoint an English Zionist as the governor of Palestine. Twenty eight years elapsed from the English occupation of Palestine and General Allenby entered Jerusalem in 1917 until the mandate ended in 1945. The Jews received the government with all its economic, service and security organizations, and the Jewish employees and cadres had full knowledge of all the affairs of administration and facilitating activities. The Jews had benefited from British expertise in administration and security as well as from their unique experience in the Jewish Agency. At that moment, Ben Gurion declared the establishment of the country of Israel. It is the witness of the story of the establishment of the State of Israel that the Jews relied upon the Jewish Agency as a Jewish alliance that included a select group of Zionists and was working to prepare a nucleus of the state. From there the Jews embarked to expand their areas of influence. That is what they did in the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1972. The prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, said "Wisdom is the lost property of the believer. Wherever he finds it, he is entitled to it." The truth is that the Jews enjoyed a great deal of pragmatism in bringing the dream to fruition according to the circumstances surrounding the undertaking. They did this by applying the necessary provisions and taking into consideration the political climate, which they utilized and implemented. This is exactly what people who dream big or have dreams that are impossible in the view of people must do.

Strategic Memorandum [4]

The Most Important Recommendation that may Serve the Project

In any great phased enterprise, the operational phases are applied alongside the implementation of precautionary measures before and during the operational phases. These measures are like security and safety precautions in construction projects and factories. When discussing the security and safety measures for the restoration of the Islamic Caliphate, there are a group of measures that must be considered for the short, medium and long term. I can divide them into three types: protecting the Dawa, protecting self-sufficiency and strategic security. They are as follows:

1 – Protecting the Dawa

The prophet's leadership showed a high degree of ability to protect the Dawa during the various phases, whether that was the phase of weakness in Mecca or strength in Medina. This protection took on various hues. However, one aspect of it was to vigorously defend the reputation of the Dawa from any scar, distortion or any implications that could be fabricated about it. Therefore, some measures and maneuvers came for the protection and safety of Islamic thought at its early beginning. These included refraining from fighting, two forced migrations, concluding some alliances, alienating some enemies and maintaining credibility even if the promises and agreements were hard to keep, such as the Hudaibiya agreement or when the idolaters obtained a promise from Hudhaifa and Abu Haseel ... not to join the prophet, blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, after their departure from Mecca. When they came to the prophet, blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, told him what had taken place between them and the idolaters, he said, "Leave. Let us fulfill the promise to them, and we will seek Allah's aid against them." Al-Nawawi said that this means, "So that it won't be said that Mohamed broke the promise."

One of the most important things that we can consider in protecting the Dawa until the Islamic Caliphate is restored is not getting involved in any conflict with an Islamic party outside of the two spheres of the undertaking. We should hold to the principle of being a good example for the state that is the nucleus of the Caliphate, rather than opposing non Shariah ideas, which some parties and Islamic movements have adopted such as doing Islamic work through legislative bodies, idolatrous constitutions and alliances that were built at the expense of the al-Wala wa-al-Bara doctrine. The call for the belief and the right path are clear whether it is in the area of the undertaking or abroad. However, the purpose is to follow the most beneficial methods for that and the most protective of the Dawa from distortion. Avoid slipping into internal battles with Muslims. Therefore, I tell you in plain language "Leave the Brotherhood alone, as long as they leave you alone."

The countries outside the two areas of the project must not interfere in internal affairs and not support or oppose Islamic governments that could receive power. The purpose of this is to be careful not to clash with them. We have learned from the lessons of Gaza that carrying out Jihadist work in the shadow of these types of governments will put us into a near constant conflict with them. This confuses the Islamic street. This is exactly what the

prophet, blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, meant when he said, “Don’t let the Arabs say that Mohamed killed his companions.” Besides, it is beneficial to stop clashing with these somewhat Islamic governments. This is preferable to anything else because the circumstances of working on partial fronts, including human coordination and supply, require a state of peace and some security from these governments. Additionally, clashing with them leads to media campaigns against us and the newborn project. This is what must be avoided, especially with those who are described as Muslims. Besides, the conflict could lead to distorting the ideal example that we are working to give to the Islamic project for the state that will be the nucleus for the Caliphate. I was grieved by what happened in the Sinai recently when some brothers, may Allah guide them, went out on (Shariah) Friday which the parties and the Islamic and secular groups agreed to make it a day for emphasizing the demands of the revolution under the slogan, “The Friday of the People’s Will”. The Islamists particularly wanted to confirm the strength of their presence on the Egyptian street and to hold on to the amendments to the constitution regarding the Islamic identity of Egypt. These brothers went out and randomly opened fire, as they were around a preacher. It was not long before they clashed with the Army, and then it developed into storming police stations and killing a number of officers, who may have been in them. When I sent to one of them inquiring about the reason for that, he said that they went out to demand the Shariah in their way. Truthfully, I am shocked at this behavior by which our stand with the desire of the Egyptian people to implement Shariah is distorted. Our appearance suggested that our purpose was to turn attention away from the activities of that day or to spoil them as some have circulated. This has been attributed to us, whether we like it or not. These young men went out with a good intention to demand the application of Shariah under an umbrella of appeals calling for that. This is good, but the error was in their method that they talked about. This is not the place for shooting. These were peaceful popular proceedings to express the desire of the people and to put continuous pressure on the Military Council to not ruin the revolution. Sheikh Dr. Aiman al-Zawahiry, may Allah protect him, called on the Egyptian people and especially the Islamic groups to demonstrate and make the demands. In this regard, he didn’t say anything about weapons and opening fire.

These incidents and the likes of them are the random hazards, from which the enemies of Allah could benefit through disinformation and turning the minds and hearts of the masses away from supporting the Caliphate. I well understand that the reason for that was the loss of sound direction for these young men. There was no one to provide non military leadership for them. This is the fallout from the circumstances of the attack phase, which prevented and kept us from communicating with the youth base. The young man was devoted to do his best, and was at the beginning of his journey to the Jihadist way. He took direction from his more senior brothers, who were incapable of directing him or of playing an effective role in the level of Jihadist education that this young man and others like him severely needed. During the period of open fronts, we were interacting with sheikhs such as Abdullah Azzam, Usamah bin Laden, Anwar Shaban and Abu Omar al-Saif, may Allah have mercy on them, and other sheikhs, leaders and examples spread out in open camps in Afghanistan, Chechnya and Bosnia. In the current attack phase, that has not been possible for us, and so the link of education and direction has been lost for the youth base. Sheikh Abu Musab al-Suri, may Allah release him, after

explaining the implications of this phase, pointed to the necessity of returning to the open-fronts situation so that this role can be reactivated. Since this will be provided, by Allah's permission, in the areas of strength, the two areas of the project - Sham and Yemen, a formula must be found to implement the role of providing direction, at least to the youth base in the areas of the partial fronts. This is so their actions can be controlled and they can be given sound direction. For the sake of that, I propose that there be a secondary point of contact, who the brothers and the youth can gather around such as a well-known sheikh, someone close to the Jihadist movement, or from any side that is derived from the Islamic alliance. The previous suggestion and the matter of directing these youth and investing their capabilities is one of the most important challenges that await the countries outside of the two areas of the project.

2 – Protecting Self-sufficiency

I had previously mentioned some challenges that will be waiting for the Mujahideen in Abyan Province, since the geographical area that they control has expanded to a depth of 300 kilometers and includes cities like Zanjibar, Jaar and others. I mentioned this in my article “The Strategy of Empowerment for the Supporters of the Shariah of the Lord of the Worlds,” and the following is from the article.

1 – Provide services: Success in taking control of countries is one thing, and success in administering them is something else. Therefore, the colonial countries seek assistance from the best consultants in the commerce and business sectors to take the helm in administering the countries after taking control of them. The Americans brought Bremer as the civilian governor of Iraq because of his extensive experience in managing large global companies. When we talk about administering areas like Jaar and Zinjibar, we do not mean cities of the size and nature of Dubai or Riyadh, because there are no high level services. They just have basic services such as electricity, water and telephone. These, with success granted by Allah, can be provided at the same level if the matters are handled well. In luxurious cities like Dubai and Riyadh, the residents will not be satisfied with anything other than all the luxuries of life that they are used to. This is for the best estimate for choosing the area of the work. If we were to display the map of the world, we would not find anything better than Afghanistan, Somalia and Yemen to create areas and small states for Islamic rule. This is because of the nature of the people and their standard of living will not be affected by sanctions, blockades or boycotts, which accompany undertakings like these that are rejected internationally. However, the expected scenario in the Arab region in general, the appearances of which have begun to appear little by little, will lead to a state of general unrest and violent anarchy. This in turn will lead to famine and mass migration, and then people will begin looking for the most important service, which is security. They will give their loyalty to whoever provides it, and here is where our role comes in the upcoming phase – Aden/Abyan. This is exactly what happened with the Taliban at its inception in Afghanistan. When it imposed security in the

areas under its rule, the people heard about that and began inviting them to annex their areas to them in exchange for providing security and stopping the plundering, looting and killing. The same story happened in Somalia with the Shabab al-Mujahideen. It starts with providing security as a basic commodity that the Mujahideen are able to provide, and then it develops from there. The current challenge now in the areas of the Ansar al-Shariah is to show a good example of security and a somewhat acceptable example of providing basic services so that people hear about that, and the invitation is sent out from them to come to them.

2 – Recruiting: Recruiting human capital existing in the area and investing it in administration, direction and construction is considered one of the most important challenges. These areas have scholars, preachers, tribal leaders, doctors, engineers and other types of human capital, with which Dawa, educational, infrastructure aspects of the cities and villages of Abyan Province can be covered. Recruiting them is the true measure of growth of the movement or group. I believe that there is nothing better than bringing some of them into a small Shura council for the affairs of the provinces (if they are considered safe) in order to incorporate them and benefit from them at the same time. It is likewise possible to commission some preachers and academics to establish an Islamic educational curriculum for various age groups and to encourage and support that to be in exchange for traditional education. It is also possible to commission some scholars for judicial matters and to oversee those who promote virtue and prohibit vice because they are the best ones to watch over the people's current state in that regard. It must be pointed out here that the question of recruiting and gradually incorporating scholars in matters, which they can make broad contributions in, is of the utmost importance to be concerned with in this regard. This is because they are a mainstay of righteous government. Those of them who were at variance in the past must not be reproached. This is the day to return good for evil as our prophet did, may the best blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, on the day of conquest. Therefore, little by little these important segments of society will be employed to turn the wheels of construction and growth.

3 – Deterrence: There are two types of enemies in every part of the world; domestic enemies and foreign enemies. A military deterrence force must be found to silence both types. It will force hypocrites on the inside to not show their hypocrisy, and it will force the foreign enemy to reconsider and think a thousand times before making any attempt of aggression and violence against us. The deterrence force would have numerous ways of expressing itself such as showing a strong security posture in the areas under its control, attack operations on areas outside of its influence and training as well as graduating some military classes from the residents of the area. All of these are indications that point to a force, which would strike terror in the enemies as the Exalted One said, {Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of God and your enemies, and others besides.} (al Anfal 60). The force we want to obtain here, is the force that will strike terror in the enemies of Allah, because it

is the only one that will deter them. If I didn't want to avoid being too long with you, I would mention some of the methods the Jewish army used to deter and subdue the Arab countries. They are the most skilled in practicing the methods of military psychological deterrence against the enemy.

The nature of the previous challenges will continue and be expected in Sham also when it reaches the upcoming phase of strength. Therefore, the initial picture of what the basic needs could be in those areas must be laid out. Subsequently, there must be preparation and training and the enlistment of technical cadres capable of administration and coordination of services like this. It must be pointed out here that it is a principle of guerilla warfare that the move to the phase of strength, control and governing a specific land, that include cities, villages and the population not be done until there is the capability to manage basic services there. This is to avoid any complaining and anger from the people that would impact our self confidence or the confidence of the population in other areas about the benefits of joining with us. I made observations about the gradual advance of the phases, for which I proposed the work in my article "Jihad in Sham – How, When and Why?" I put it as follows:

The strategy for military activity may be divided into three phases (build-up, combat and strength), and they are as follows:

First: The Build-up Phase

This phase relies on secrecy in everything. It elevates the motto, "Build-up while fighting." The uppermost thing in the mind of the Mujahideen is to focus on training, preparing military cadres, building up surveillance networks and constructing the infrastructure for the next phase, which will require possession and storage of huge quantities of weapons and ammunition. That may be achieved through weapons merchants, smuggling rings (but they cannot be trusted now) or through attacking military convoys. That means that the primary target for our military operations during this phase is to obtain weapons from the enemy. Whoever goes back to the days of the Syrian Jihad in the eighties finds that there were thousands of Syrians, who wanted to join the Mujahideen. However, at that time the Mujahideen did not have sufficient weaponry, and so a valuable opportunity was lost to take advantage of those huge capabilities. That is why, the first military job, which the Mujahideen undertook after the outbreak of the revolution there and before they took control of Ayan, was to occupy an ammunition factory and warehouse. This is because war cannot be undertaken without weapons and ammunition. Any side that loses its weapons or uses up its ammunition departs from the battlefield immediately. It is important during this phase that we arrange for some needed infiltrations into the enemy's military and security agencies. Sympathizers are in abundance, especially during the current climate of revolution. From that abundance, important intelligence will come to us from various levels. One can review what I wrote in "The War of Minds" to learn the requirements of espionage. This

phase ends as soon as the necessary military, intelligence, media and medical cells are built up for the next phase.

Second: The Combat Phase

The beginning of this phase coincides when confidence in the benefit of peaceful demonstrations weakens. The leadership is responsible for evaluating that. When the people realize that the peaceful undertaking to bring down the regime is not working, then we declare our armed effort to bring it down. It is important here, that we program all our military, political and media activities to muster the support of the people and the Ummah behind the Mujahideen and the military option so that we benefit from popular Arab and Islamic support to cover the costs and requirements of the military action. In this, we must take into consideration the basic principles of guerilla warfare. One can refer to the writings of Abu-Musaab al-Suri, may Allah release him, who is the best one of those who talked about this. Regarding the military for example, it is important that we go to the people with a name that is appropriate for the phase and would be understood by the general public. For example “The Marwan Hadeed Brigades” would be good, because we consider Marwan Hadeed a hero and martyr, and he would be a symbol of Jihad against the al-Nusairi (Syrian Alawite) regime. He has books of poetry and stories whereby the people can be stirred up, and we have become an extension of him. Some of the revolutionaries in Libya did this when they chose the name “Omar al-Mukhtar”. At this point, I don’t want to talk about the tactics of guerilla warfare that must be followed because they have been annotated in detail in the theories of guerilla warfare. However, I do want to point out that we are facing a technologically weak enemy that does not use technology or advanced methods of war. This is the opposite of what we faced with the U.S. Army in Afghanistan and Iraq. This gives us larger area to operate freely. If we add to that the weakness of the Syrian Army’s military equipment and the low morale of the soldiers where desertions have increased since the latest crimes of the regime, this will increase our chances to achieve success in this phase. I believe that the appropriate battle against the Syria army will be the one that leads to splitting it apart rather than the one that leads to defeating it. This is because the second will take a long time, and the first is aimed at the psyche of the soldier, who has not yet made up his mind. These are the majority of the Syrian army. These soldiers are afraid of the violent crackdown of the regime against them if they leave the service in the army. It is enough to crack down on them also in order for them to be convinced that they will meet the same death that they are trying to escape. Only then will they make the right choice, and they will begin to flee. Military history is rich with unique examples of psychological wars, in which the victors did not have to enter any additional battles to achieve victory. Because of this, I propose that the areas of Syria be divided into areas of pressure and areas of terror. We put the bulk of the military operations in the first, and in the second, we rely upon the culture of silencers and sticky bombs to pursue the senior criminals in the cities where security has a tight fist. In this

wartime climate, security is concentrated in the large cities and is less strict in the outlying areas. Thus, all segments of the enemy will be well in hand.

Someone may say that the heat of the battle could lead to huge military campaigns that would hurt the residents and destroy the civilization of mankind. I say that this possibility is evident. No one has said that we are going on a picnic, or that there is such a thing as a nice war or one that is not harmful. Therefore, the Mujahideen's combat doctrine must be clear that we are defending against and battling a regime that has been perpetrating murder, torture, intimidation, and has suspended Shariah and has been trifling with the honor of Muslims for more than 30 years. The doctrine must show that it would be stupid to abandon fighting it and taking vengeance against it since Allah has provided the means to do so. I have related this point so that we will not be affected by any calls for a cease fire under any pretext or reason, whether these calls come from some residents who are being harmed, from those whose interests have been damaged or from opposition political parties. History testifies that there has not been a war that takes into consideration the benefit of those around it. War displaces, kills, imprisons and destroys until one side is victorious over the other. Only then is it possible to do what is needed to compensate those who have been harmed.

I wanted the beginning of this phase to be distinguished by its intense heat for an important tactical reason. That is to draw the enemy into using fighter planes against us in counterattacks. The regime will be eager to avoid doing this because the Security Council would impose a no-fly zone on it such as what happened in Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq and recently in Libya. We have succeeded in preventing it from using air power, or we have been effective with these fears of keeping him from effectively using it. Thereby, we have neutralized an important arm of the Syrian military. The war will be on more equal footing from the standpoint of weaponry and counter weaponry such as what happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina when a no-fly zone was imposed upon the battlefield. Therefore, the Mujahideen dealt with the Serbian Army on an equal footing. It is assumed that by the end of this phase that the fighting groups would have understood how to work across wide areas, with greater preparation and with team work that would have risen to nearly that of regular militaries. That is a necessary step in order to move to the coming phase.

Third: The Phase of Strength

This is the phase in which the leadership estimates that the enemy is on the verge of military collapse in a specific province. Afghanistan and Yemen are in this phase now. This is the province, on which we have concentrated the pressure of military operations since the beginning of the war based on the previous choice due to the area's geographic and demographic favorability. It is possible for us to take that step after we do a comprehensive study of the most important administrative expertise required to manage the basic utilities and

services in the province or governorate. After that, we trust in the Mighty and Glorious Allah and begin the operations to conquer and control the areas with lightning and simultaneous operations that end by completely cleaning the province of the remnants of the previous regime. After that, we begin appointing a local ruling council to administer the affairs of the province. This is the first step in building the infrastructure for the new state. This province will be a base for training and supply as well as a model for imposing security, order and justice, so that the rest of the governorates and provinces will hear about it. With that, we will open their hearts before embarking on conquering their lands.

I believe that the question of administering these areas requires a high degree of coordination more than anything else. Every town has local expertise and technical specialties that are fully sufficient to operate the services and manage resources. Our role is simply to employ these capabilities and contract with them through a town or local council. The residents of Mecca know its terrain. As soon as there is complete control of the area (I mean here control that ends the state of war with the local enemies and wipes them off the map – that is the phase in which we are able to operate as a fully sovereign state over its territory), we have effectively placed our hands on everything that is in the state. That includes resources, factories and farms. As we have said, the two areas of Sham and Yemen have graduates of technical education and have more expertise than we need to sufficiently administer these areas without needing to resort to foreign expertise. There are two ways to administer a state when a new power comes in and removes the authority. It can try to administer everything with its knowledge and with foreign expertise such as what happened when America invaded Iraq. It disbanded the Iraqi Army and did away with the police. It purged other ministries and fired employees of the state that belonged to the Baath Party. It relied upon the services of foreign companies or foreign advisors. The country entered a big flurry of activity that failed to bring about the desired pattern for administering the country. The Bremer government failed the test. It was too weak in areas to supply the simplest of the basic necessities to the residents. The second way is what happened in Gaza. When the Hamas Movement leaped into power in the Strip, it did not abolish the government functions at that time except for the intelligence agency that belonged to Fatah as a security precaution. It was able to manage the resources and services of the Strip in the same manner. It continued in spite of the circumstances of the blockade. However, the Hamas Movement, as a popular movement with its roots in the Strip, benefited from many technical groups such as technicians, high ranking employees of the Strip's services and physicians that belonged to the Movement. It did not run into administrative problems like the ones that await any new force without those capabilities or one that is operating in a new geographical area. In spite of that, I am confident that good coordination to use both factors of capabilities and expertise in every country will be sufficient to administrate it in the required manner. There are many witnesses to the success of that. Among the most important of them is the prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, used to acknowledge the rule of kings, emirs and leaders of their jurisdictions after they entered Islam. This is an indication of the principle of investing local expertise in administration and governance. One of the benefits of following this method is that thereby a military force avoids slipping into the

corridors and problems of administrative life, which would transform it from a military force into a general contracting company without realizing it. The Dubat al-Ahrar (Free Officers) of Egypt fell into this pitfall when they wanted to take control of all the institutions of the state. They appointed the most trustworthy officers to head government ministries and organizations, vital projects and even sports clubs. They forgot the army and their concern with it. This had a negative impact on its battle readiness. Israel exploited this opportunity, and undertook its absolutely most successful war in 1967, which the Arabs named the year of setback.

It is worth indicating here that the challenge in providing these services is not limited to just providing them to the consumer without securing their sources from the dangers of attacks, blockades and depletion as the result of economic sanctions. Factories, food and medicine storage facilities are targets of air bombardments and espionage operations by the traitors or are vulnerable to depletion as a result of blockades, which could be imposed on the state. This is what happened in the blockades of Iraq and Gaza. This is where the terms of food security, medicine security and production security come in to deal with that. Every country has an approach to secure itself from these dangers. Near the end of World War II during the strategic bombing phase by the allies over the industrial cities of Germany (which sent most of those back to the middle ages from the enormous destruction they suffered) Germany dismantled its vital and important factories that provided packaged sustenance for the armies and ammunition. They then reconstructed them underground to avoid the bombing and destruction. Hence, the wheel of the necessary war economy turned to continue the war. The Russians did the same thing when the Germans swept over their lands. They dismantled most of the Russian factories, tirelessly moving ahead of the arrival of the Germans to Moscow. They then moved all of that to the Ural Mountains. From there the Russian factory workers began their work, and Russian military factories made T-43 tanks, which gets credit for the staying power against the Germans and their eventual victory over them. In North Korea the communist government there depended on securing itself by placing basic factories inside of mountains. They did this by making big hollows inside the mountains and putting the factories in a safe place from aerial bombing. U.S. forces allude to this from time to time. What should be mentioned here is that Castro has begun to secure the Cuban revolution by building a small ammunition factory in the mountains to ensure the continued flow of necessary ammunition to the revolution. Everyone, who does not want to be at the mercy of weapons merchants, must do this. State diplomacy must play its role in providing electronic or medical equipment or necessary spare parts to the residents, utilizing political and military weight that it gains in the region. When the countries of the West imposed a naval blockade on Germany during World War II, the later was able to utilize the Soviet Union, which was afraid of German power, as a marketing representative and to purchase whatever it wanted and needed from the world market. In general, we can say that no country or entity can continue in a state of war without securing basic commodities for itself, which it cannot do without, whether that be securing the sources of these or providing large amounts of strategic reserves or both. The leadership of the joint commands in the Desert Storm operation relied upon two ways of ensuring the supply of fuel to the forces. It relied upon securing the oil production region in Ash Sharqiya with a network of surface to air defense missiles with

the protection of air superiority. Additionally, it rented 700 oil tanker vessels loaded with fuel. They positioned them in the open sea outside of the range of Iraqi fighter aircraft. These two measures ensured for the international coalition the continuous flow of fuel to its forces.

3- Strategic Protection

I am able to liken this section to the chapter on Sadd al-Dharai (blocking the means of evil) in Islamic jurisprudence. The intent of the proposed measures here is to work at paralyzing the enemy's operational capabilities to launch a war against us, to deprive him of the attributes that used to help him enter the region and to break the keys that used to enable him to do so. In all the wars that the enemies launched to subjugate the Arab region, their success depended on some geographic, demographic and vital elements that the Arab region used to and still does enjoy. Since the Arab region that will include that Caliphate is in the midst of enemies on the regional and international level, no one can anticipate from where and how the enemy will come. In order to mitigate this problem, long-term precautionary measures should be put in place to weaken the general capability of any enemy to achieve any penetration of the region. These are measures that the national security councils of the great powers are normally concerned with. Whereas, we expect (that after the main operations phase of annihilating Israel and amalgamating Sham and Yemen along with what is around them and between them into one entity and declaring the Caliphate) that there will be regional and international reactions that could be translated into military campaigns at a level we have not seen before. Preparation for campaigns like these could require a long time for the hostile alliance, contrary to previous campaigns against us. This would be for the allied countries to be able to crystallize a unified military campaign, a joint command, a plan for dividing the wealth of the region after achieving victory and other measures. These things precede huge undertakings like this. However, all these operations will pass through, benefit from and exploit some elements and commodities in place on the ground in the region. We must discover these helpful elements and then work at neutralizing or mitigating these opportunities for enemy exploitation. If we were fighting in a city that was divided into two parts by a river with a bridge over it, that bridge might be important to us for moving and covering some services. However, it might be necessary to blow it up before the enemies use it to cross over to us.

For that reason, I made a preliminary list of principles regarding the most important factors that could threaten the strategic security of the region. After finishing and after a quick recollection of the events of the Sira, I found that the prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, had depended on the same type of measures to secure the Islamic state for the long term. He dug trenches on Sunday, burned the palm trees of Bani al-Nadir, removed the Jews from Medina and ordered the removal of the idolaters from the entire Arab Peninsula. All of these measures pertain to and fall in the column of strategic protection for the state. Digging trenches helped close the region to the confederates, whose alliance composed of 10,000 fighters were unable to cross that obstacle. Burning the date palms of Bani al-Nadir cut their personal ties to the area when they saw that fire had eaten up their wealth, and they would be unable to stay in Medina without it.

Removing the Jews from Medina and the idolaters from the Arab Peninsula came as a protective measure to secure the internal front from attempts of foreign penetration through hostile minorities, who lived within the state. These three steps come as an ideal example to whoever wants to secure any important geographical region such as the prophet's capital where these measures were implemented. They are summarized by geographically closing the area, cutting the personal connections of the enemy to it and forcing hostile minorities (who are the keys to intelligence work for every invader) to emigrate. From this prophetic example, I discuss strategic protection for the Arab region, which includes the Caliphate, the heart of which extends from Sham to Yemen. This is the Caliphate state's strategic strip that ties together the supply of the most important human resources including those from Sham, Egypt and Yemen. I say (and success is from Allah) that to secure this strip and its air space, we must have three steps in our priorities and in view. They would come immediately after declaring and extending the state. They are as follows:

A – Close the Suez Canal and Tighten Bab el-Mandeb

This measure is the first step to secure the transfer of Islamic armies from Sham to Egypt and the reverse at the required speed. It removes the opportunity for enemy military campaigns to benefit from this strategic passage. Therefore, any naval campaign would find itself forced to circle around Africa, pass the Cape of Good Hope and come up again to arrive at the Red Sea via the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, which we will work at narrowing whereby aircraft carriers and battleships will not be allowed to pass through. At the same time, we will put it under direct threat of weapons. With this scenario, we will have made the Red Sea a protected area exclusive to the state as it was in the days of Bani Othman. We will have also removed the opportunity for an amphibious landing on the coast opposite the Hijaz or the coast leading to southern Sham as the British military campaigns did in World War I. With this, the strategic strip (spanning Sham, the Hijaz and Yemen) is secured and made to enjoy a strategic geographic depth that is important to protect the mother area (Mecca and Medina). This strip in this shape will be between the areas loyal to the state and will enjoy vast distances that can be used to thwart the advance of any enemy from that direction. It is the line going from the desert of Sham in the north to the Najd in the middle and then to the Hadhramaut in the south. This vertical line and what is next to it, including Iraq and the Arab Gulf coast are the security zone for the east of the state. The length of the Red Sea, extending from the Sinai to the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, is then the security zone for the west of the state, since we are closing it from above and narrowing it from beneath as we have gone over. The truth is that the historic intermixing and interacting between the two poles of the region, Sham and Egypt, have been affected a lot by the digging of this ill-fated canal. Because of it, the Islamic peoples' ability to help each other in times of war has decreased. Whatever the financial return from this canal is, it is far less than the dangers that come through it. The question of filling in the canal is not farfetched. It came up in the memoirs of Lieutenant General Saad al-Deen al-Shadheli, the chief of war staff of the Egyptian armed forces during the October war. Sadat had asked a high-ranking engineer about the possibility of filling in the canal to be a land passage that the forces could pass over without fear of it being destroyed by the Israeli Air Force as is the case with manufactured bridges. He answered

that it is possible. However, the fast-paced events of the war turned Sadat's attention away from that. At the beginning of that war, The Egyptian naval forces implemented a partial closure of the Bab el-Mandeb Strait by means of two Egyptian warships that prevented any ship bearing the Israeli flag from crossing the strait. Israel came under a naval blockade in the area of the Red Sea, and the Israeli port of Eilat became of no value to it. It became necessary for tankers carrying Iranian oil heading towards Israel to sail from Iranian ports from the Arab Gulf to the Arab Sea and then circumnavigate Africa to the Atlantic and then the Mediterranean to arrive at the northern ports of the Jews' state. This is what made the Shah's cheap oil cost the Jews more than others. This will also force the enemies to follow the same costly and lengthy path. However, we are saving other surprises.

B – Destroy Oil Production

If the souls of Bani al-Nadir were attached to the date palms of Medina, then the souls of the West are more attached to the seas of oil in the Gulf. The Arab Peninsula area's lack of wealth was a basic factor for the great powers' lack of interest in it. The global interest in this area did not begin until after the appearance of oil there in the fifties and sixties of the last century. The matter then developed with the Carter doctrine, which considered the Arab Gulf a vital area for the U.S. economy and that the security of the Gulf is an issue of national security for the United States of America. Therefore, rapid intervention forces were established to ensure the stability of this area. The Central Command was then established to take care of that. The first to lead it was General Schwarzkopf, who led the first war against the first threat to the area's petroleum. Truthfully, the West has tied itself to this vital substance in a way that has made it the backbone of western society. Americans stopped riding in cars and began riding bicycles for some time in the aftermath of the Arab embargo on exporting oil in 1973. They could no longer become acclimated to that after the current technological upturn and after their empire has been expanded in the last two decades. The United States is responsible for one fourth of the world's oil consumption. The Pentagon by itself has that same fuel consumption as Sweden. This consumption is calculated by daily averages. That means that any real delay in the supply of oil will have an immediate effect on the same day on the prices of oil and then on the strategic reserves of oil. Restrictions on use and a system of rationing will then be put in effect. Any paralysis in the production of oil in the Gulf will be a true paralysis in the ability of the United States to practice the same imperial role that it practices now at the global level. Therefore, we must maintain the local ability to destroy oil production on the Gulf coast from time to time. This reality suggests that we will not establish a permanent presence on that coast because I assume it would be dangerous to annex that strip to the state at its initial start. This is because all the world powers whether they are the United States or those that come after it such as China, India and others will desperately try to fight to control that strip by concluding security agreements with the governments of the region or by direct occupation of the oil wells. This is a state of turmoil that we must expect and treat with caution. These emerging industrial civilizations know the value of oil for them. They are prepared to launch hundreds of thousands of their sons to secure that substance. A country like China doesn't have a lot of concern for domestic public opinion about the numbers of dead as is the case with

Western societies. Therefore, I believe that this situation requires a partial presence on our part in this area, which must be represented by showing our ability to destroy and disrupt the extraction and production of oil there. The process of producing, refining and exporting oil requires a stable climate for the process to succeed and continue. Therefore, the two column theory for stability of the region was put in place. Subsequently, the Shah's regime fell followed by outbreak of the Iran/Iraq War in the eighties. With that targeting of oil tankers began with the threat to oil production in the Gulf by Iran. Because of all that, the Saudi command proceeded to establish the Eastern District, which is the area of vital oil production, as a no-fly zone for military aircraft. They drew a line of longitude that no flight could cross, and they called it the Fahd line. Any effective and continuous threat from us to oil production in the area will make it subservient to us, and the lesson that any power that wants to benefit from Gulf oil must learn is that the entryway to that investment comes through us and that we are the only ones that can give permission for that. It is the same role that Iran plays in Iraqi politics without them having one soldier there.

I believe that playing the oil card in this manner will not bring us into direct confrontation with the Eastern economic powers that are thirsty for oil. While at the same time, it will make us the only entity which is capable of giving permission to use it. Thereby, we will have caused a great crack in the system of cooperation between the great powers, whose interests conflict according to the cooperation of any one of them with us according to the stipulations that we make, which for the medium term must result in increasing the alienation between the Eastern and Western worlds, politically and militarily. This alienation will provide us with the suitable climate for building the strength of the state.

C – Forcing Hostile Minorities to Emigrate

If the conspiracy of the Jews of Medina against the Muslims and their violation of the treaty with the prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, was enough to make the decision to remove them from Medina, then history has enough evidence for removing religious minorities that are settled in the Arab region. The criminal record of these minorities in conspiring against Muslims, especially during the colonial era, where they were the best facilitators for the colonization against us, is the greatest evidence of that. The last century witnessed appalling mass forced migrations of some peoples. The communist regime in the Lenin and Stalin eras worked at forcing some Islamic peoples to migrate from Caucasia to the barren spaces of Siberia. This was in addition to genocide operations against other Muslim peoples, which during the time of Lenin alone amounted to 25 million Muslims dead. The Germans also forced Jews to emigrate from their lands and killed many of them in gas furnaces after accusing them of conspiracy against the state. Likewise, India undertook forced migrations and dreadful genocide against the Muslims of Kashmir in a bold attempt to change the religious geography of the region. The Pakistani Army undertook violent repressive operations to subdue the Bengali people that had revolted against it. That led to the exodus and migration of ten million Bengalis to the Indian side, which led to an international crisis that ended with the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan. Say the same thing about the forced migrations of the Palestinians from Palestine and more recently from Iraq.

We as Muslims are not calling for excess in implementing this principle as did those tyrants, who branded humankind with their evil. However, we have Sharia, historical and political justification that enables us to take a peaceful precautionary measure against them. As a state, we will try to arrange it in a just way.

The prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, by the removal of the Jews from Medina, wanted to secure it from within, since it was the only geographical location that was safe for Muslims at that time. After that when the state's land expanded to the entire Arab Peninsula, he ordered the removal of the idolaters from the Peninsula. I believe and I imagine that the arrival of the Caliphate to the area of Sham and taking Jerusalem as the capital of the Caliphate is one of the strategic hypotheses that has been put forth. It is one that I strongly lean towards because it gives a strong message to the West and to the Jews that we are going to remain in Jerusalem. This requires of us, based on the principle of securing the heart of the state, that we work at deporting the religious minorities of that region and make Sham the second area that is forbidden to non-Muslims after the Arab Peninsula. If the question of removing the idolaters from the Arab Peninsula was a necessity imposed by the provisions of Shariah, then the deportation of idolaters from Sham is a necessity imposed by the political, military and cultural reality. The great powers drew up and legislated this reality, whereby they made these minorities the key to entering the area and interfering with internal affairs on the pretext of protecting minorities, human rights and public freedoms. This is done exclusively against the third world countries. There is a global system or political cultural pattern that the great powers persist with in working to encourage these minorities to continuous commotion within those countries. This causes a state of continuous internal turmoil, which those powers can utilize to implement any agenda in these countries. Anyone who reads history sees that internal disturbances in any country for the most part came from that. This is what the foreign ambassadors did in the Ottoman state in cooperation with the minorities in the state. Doing this, they achieved all kinds of success in dismantling the mother country. The policy of supporting minorities and working through them yielded the Lebanese Maronite regime, the Syrian Alawite regime, the State of Israel, Southern Sudan and others. There can be no tolerance of this system in highly sensitive areas of the state, such as the province in which the capital is located or a province which is expected to be the stage for military campaigns coming from abroad. This is what is expected in Sham. We cannot feel politically stable with the existence of vulnerabilities like these, which the world powers will utilize to ignite internal disturbances in the state. It is not possible for us to fight militarily against the external enemy when there is an internal enemy waiting to stab us in the back when the military balance tips against us or when that is requested of him at the convenient time. Therefore, when the confederates came and surrounded Medina, one of the first things that concerned the prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, was that he wanted to be sure of the position of the internal enemy represented by the Jews. Therefore, the prophet, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, sent two companions to sound out the Jews. We have been through enough experiences in discovering treachery and conspiracy with these minorities such as the Christians of Sham, who welcomed General Gouraud when he entered Damascus and welcomed the crusader campaigns and the Tatars before that. From these the Jews were able to form the Southern Lebanese Army to protect Northern Israel and use them for the

resistance at the same time. The treachery of these minorities also includes the Druze, who were affiliated with the Israeli Defense Forces as well as the Alawites, whose danger to Islam and Muslims is not hidden. Recent events have disclosed some of their dark maliciousness against Muslims. Therefore, my opinion is that we must, after or before the declaration of the Caliphate according to the circumstances, expel the Jews and force the Christians, Druze, Alawites, Baha'is, Shiites, the servants of Satan and other idolaters to emigrate from all lands belonging to Sham. I believe that the best climate for executing this plan is during a state of war and not a state of peace. It would be easy for us to implement a measure like this shortly before the end of military operations that would be in preparation for declaring the Caliphate because the uproar and clamor, which could result from a measure like this or could prevent the implementation of it, could fade behind the dust of war. That is because the forced emigration operations would come as part of the spectacle of war, not separated from it. In clearer terms, I say that the best policy for dealing with the minorities and the dangers they pose is to impose a new reality free of those minorities. The best time for this dispossession is under cover of finishing up the greater military operations. Modern armies do this when they redouble their kinetic military operations in the final moments before the end of the battle to impose a new reality, according to which the politicians can negotiate.

*It remains for me to say, that these scenarios of what we might see in future events, and what we can fulfill is not based only on the inspirations of the Arab revolutions. They have been devised based on the general progress of the Jihadist movement through the current place and time of the Arab revolutions, and what the place and time of these revolutions can represent to the Jihadist progress. This is what I indicated at the beginning of the memorandum that it will give us a gigantic boost that has never occurred to the heart of man.

In order to keep these words from being random, there is proof that the place and time of the Arab revolutions is a place and time that can be used, but they are not the place and time from which the Jihadist undertaking started. The Jihadist movement has fulfilled the requirements to benefit from this historic event that has come in the Lord's appropriate time. It has come after the movement has passed through the intellectual and organizational phases as well as through trials, hardships and experiences that would not have brought forth fruit unless Allah had prepared for it what He did with these revolutions. {Even if ye had made a mutual appointment to meet, ye would certainly have failed in the appointment: But (thus ye met), that God might accomplish a matter already enacted;} (al-Anfal 42). I say this in order to prove that the Jihadist movement has met the conditions, developed and past through the phases to qualify it to be the primary player in the next stage. I had written around two years ago and documented the historical observations of the general progress of the Jihad from its first intellectual conception until our days now. I would like the reader to ponder the points of growth of this movement and its intellectual and organizational expansion in order to understand that there is a crop before us and the time to harvest it has arrived.

Quoted from "A Strategic Study of the Global Conflict and the Jihadist Movement's Place in it:"

In fact, the peak of the strength of the Jihadist path and the continuation of its rise came concurrently with America's peak. It is as if two contrary lines began on the same plane and met in the middle when each one of them was at the height of its power. The most important thing that distinguishes the Jihadist path is that it built itself through the trials of life, and it was not the prisoner of impotent theories, which came from other schools of thought. The first spark of Jihadist thought came from al-Maududi (Syed Qutb), who provided the basis for the Jihadist movement and who took the teachings of Ibn Taimiya as the Shariah basis for it. This movement came to the world through three historical figures, who are Syed Qutb, Abdallah Azzam and Usama bin Laden.

Details of the phases follow:

A – The Popular Jihad

The Caliphate fell in 1342H (1924AD). The last of what was gathered of the scattered Muslims also fell with it. Before and after this date, popular Jihadist movements from Pakistan to the farthest reaches of Islamic North Africa formed purely on the basis of popular efforts with the support of scholars. These included Imam Shamil who ignited it in Caucasia, Izz al-Din al-Qassam who carried the banner of Jihad in Palestine and Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi who founded the Rif Islamic Republic and caused grief to the Spanish and Europeans in the land of North Africa. In the Battle of Anwal 1921, al-Khattabi defeated the armies of five European countries, killed 25,000 crusaders and captured nearly 20 thousand others, including 100 generals, and five of those held the rank of marshal. Although Sufi thought calls for patience to a fault under oppression, it had spread throughout most Muslim countries. In Algeria, a Sufi figure said at that time, "The entrance of the French was by the decree of Allah against us, and to fight them would be resisting the decree of Allah." In spite of that however, Sufi fighting movements (such as the Omar al-Mukhtar, may Allah have mercy on him, movement that fought the Italians for fifty years) went out to demand the removal of the occupation and avenge the honor of abused Muslims.

Thus, the Jihad began during this phase, motivated by direct religious instinct. It was aided by how clearly many perceived the crusader's face and his greed to seize things in subsequent phases. When the French entered Algeria, they were not content to occupy the land and exploit the people. They went way beyond that by forcing the French language on everyone in all government offices, encouraging the immigration of French people to Algeria, giving them ownership of the farms of the original inhabitants and other methods of ideological attack and colonization from which Muslims in Algeria still suffer up to these very days.

The popular Jihad during this phase lacked Jihadist ideology and a clear political view of the events and struggles occurring around it. Therefore, it was vulnerable to exploitation by the crusader enemies themselves, who dropped the fruit of Jihad into the hands of local collaborators. It is as if they went out one door and came in the other. The “Brotherhood that Obeys Allah” group emerged in the heart of the Arab Peninsula. It did not lack a true Shariah vision, but it was defective in its political view regarding the nature of the ruling regime in Riyadh. It was the spearhead of the wars of the so called Imam Abdel Aziz bin Saud, who didn’t find any difficulty in getting rid of the group in the Battle of al-Salba in 1347 H (1929AD) after their mission was over from his perspective. This was the situation in one way or another in the rest of the Islamic countries. The colonizer came out of this phase with a clear idea that the strength of Muslims is hidden in their Islamic doctrine and the extent of their adherence to it. Therefore, he resolved to use all of his power to disfigure this doctrine, and he delegated the accomplishment of this mission to his collaborators.

B – Jihad in Countries

The roots of this phase are drawn from and are based on the ideas of Syed Qutb, may Allah have mercy on him, about Jihad, governance, the differing from Kufr and the disassociation from ignorance, which he derived from al-Maududi, may Allah have mercy on him. He began and for the first time to present the distinctive and clear ideological attributes of Jihadist movements that believed that the first problem for returning to true Islam for Muslims and removing their oppression is the removal of the client regimes installed by the enemy before his departure. Syed Qutb said, when the British forces announced their withdrawal from Egypt, “The red English have departed, and the brown English remain.”

It must be emphasized here that we are following the roots of the path of the Jihadist line that bears the torch of global Jihad today. It is still known by the name of Jihadist Salafism. We do not mean any groups with a deformed ideology or view such as the Hamas Movement or the Moro Islamic Front and others even if they come from the same historical roots. The books of Imam Syed Qutb have been translated into a number of languages, and many groups of various types have relied upon them from the East to the West. However, the only ones, who have the proper pattern from them, are those who are on the Salafist path of following the Koran and Sunnah. The marriage of the two conflicting ideologies (two doctrines) has resulted in producing fighters (ideologists) who took it upon themselves to fight the near enemy represented by the apostate rulers, who replaced the Shariah of Allah and have departed from what the Exalted One said, {O ye who believe! fight the unbelievers who gird you about, and let them find firmness in you:} (al-Tawbah 123). As a result of that, a series of Jihadist organizations and movements erupted in all of the Muslim countries. They were as Sheikh Abu Musab al-Suri, may Allah protect him, observed in his book *The Companies of Resistance (Saraiya al-Muqawama)* as follows:

- 1 – The experience of the Moroccan al-Shabiba (Youth) Movement under the leadership of Abd al-Karim Muti 1963
- 2 – The experience of the Egyptian Jihad organization 1965 – 2001
- 3 – The Jihadist experience in Syria 1965 – 1983
- 4 – The experience of the Islamic State Movement in Algeria 1973 – 1976
- 5 – The experience of the Gamaa al-Islamiya (Islamic Group) in Egypt 1975 – 2001
- 6 – The Jihadist experience in Tunisia in the early eighties
- 7 – The experience of the Islamic Fighting Group in Libya 1990 – 2001
- 8 – The contemporary Jihadist experiences in Algeria since 1990
- 9 – The Jihadist experiences in Yemen since 1990
- 10 – The Jihadist attempts in Morocco since 1995
- 11 – The attempt of the Arab Afghans in the Nabatiya Mountains 1999
- 12 – The Jihadist experience in Tajikistan 1992 – 2000
- 13 – The Jihadist experience in Uzbekistan 1998 – 2001
- 14 – The Jihadist experience of the Mujahideen of Eastern Turkistan 1975 – 2001

The fact is that the Jihadist groups came out of this phase weakened by wounds and deaths. The harsh experiences that the Jihadists underwent in Hamah in 1982 and Algeria in the nineties were bloody in nature. Many Mujahid groups faced the intricate plots of the intelligence agencies that infiltrated, fought, arrested, tortured and killed. The ruling regimes spared nothing in these fateful battles, since the battle aimed at fully bringing them down. In spite of that, all of these groups came out with a great legacy in field experience and operational expertise in real work with people whether they were supporters or opposed. This experience was very necessary for complete fulfillment in the next phase. That means that the Mujahideen would not have gotten to where they are today without wading into the series of previous experiences. The field lessons, more than anything else, amounted to understanding reality and what it needs to be. From here the importance of going through this phase becomes clear to us. In

fact, it was like a barren land that the traveler must cross to get to where he wants to be.

C – Regional Jihad

This phase is considered the primary vehicle for all the Jihadist movements to move the theatre of their operations from within the borders to outside the borders of their country. The harsh suppression that Islamic groups were exposed to in the previous phase led them to search for any Negus, under whom they could take refuge so they could get back on their feet, train their personnel and get their cards in order again. There was no better place than Afghanistan for this task. When Jihad burst forth under the leadership of the scholars and Islamic movements against the Communist expansion in Afghanistan in 1979, groups of Muslim young men poured in from every which side by side with the Islamic groups that found their sought-after hope in Afghanistan. The star of Sheik Abdallah Azzam, may Allah have mercy on him, emerged in this matter, in which matter he saw what he had not seen in any other.

Afghanistan was a big turning point for the Jihadist groups, which mixed with each other ideologically, and became acquainted with the issues of various Muslims. They had the same concerns. They became more mature and somehow had a clearer vision. In regards to the Islamic Umma, for the first time in a long time, Jihad began to be discussed in the open on the pages of newspapers and on the television screen after it had been completely forgotten. Abdallah Azzam exploited this huge opportunity to the greatest extent that it could be exploited because he understood that there was an international green light to support the Jihad against the Russians and that there were expedencies that accompanied it that would not last long and that would end and be suppressed upon the completion of the mission requested of it. So he started to roam the landscape from Pakistan to America and began stirring up Muslims to Jihad. He explained this term that had been almost obliterated from the life of Muslims, overcoming all the doctrinal obstacles and legal suspicions that had stood in its way during that era. This resulted in more than 40,000 Mujahideen coming to the field of battle in Afghanistan. They benefited ideologically, educationally and militarily from this elaborate experience of the life of Jihad. The West noticed this, and a Jewish American wrote a report titled, “What Have We Done?” From this point, the Mujahideen continued after that on the regional path. They took the initiative in the Umma’s crucial issues. Therefore, the Mujahideen Brigade appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the leadership of the Algerian Abu al-Maali. In Chechnya Commander Khattab from Saudi Arabia participated in leading military operations in the first and second wars. The Mujahideen continued to provide support in the rest of the Muslim countries such as Kashmir, Somalia, Kosovo, Burma and others.

We are able to say that the Jihad has gone a long way to arrive at this phase. Jihad is no longer a reaction devoid of any ideology to lead it and organize it as

was the case during the phase of the popular Jihad. Jihad is no longer limited to the borders of Sykes-Picot, which the enemy drew for us to vacillate in. The issue has gone beyond that so that the Mujahideen have become a rapid intervention force. When they hear of a disturbance or a fright, they rush to support Muslims even if that were in the farthest part of China. Does the matter stop there?

D – Global Jihad

Jihad began to expand globally after the Mujahideen proved themselves in changing the course of world events in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The West began organizing international conferences such as the Shanghai Anti-Terrorism Conference, the Dayton Conference, Sharm el-Sheikh and others. These were to curtail, diminish and fight what is come to be known as global Jihad, exemplified by the Afghan Arabs and those who followed their path. The West was successful in annihilating Jihadist groups in Peshawar, which were a microcosm of Islamic groups that engaged in armed operations. The West did this by sewing discord, resulting in internal wars between the groups inside Afghanistan. It also eliminated the leading figures of Jihad during that time. An example would be the assassination of Sheikh Abdallah Azzam in Peshawar 1989, most likely at the hand of U.S. and Pakistani intelligence, and the association of groups fell apart after that. U.S. President Bill Clinton himself intervened in the Balkans War to conclude the Dayton Agreement between the sides in the conflict in order to impose the American conditions for peace. One of the most important of these conditions was the expulsion of the Arab Mujahideen from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Mujahideen then went through a critical period when they were exposed to unprecedented pressure. There were obscure attempts from unofficial scholars to push the Mujahideen toward specific issues to expend their Jihadist energy far away from areas that are sensitive to the global economy and security, but these attempts met with failure.

The Historic Turning Point in the Conflict

The Crusader invasion of the Arab Peninsula in 1990 on the pretext of liberating Kuwait is considered the major turning point in the Mujahideen's train of thought. This is after events uncovered the truth regarding the ruling regimes in the area and the religious organizations that belong to them. Events also uncovered the enormity of the Crusader conspiracy, which was dependant on those previously mentioned groups for their armies to reach the area and give their presence a permanent legitimacy.

The enormity of the coalition forces was enough for the Mujahideen to understand that there was a global conspiracy against Muslims, devised in cooperation with the puppet regimes in the area, supported by religious, media, and educational organizations. The coalition forces consisted of 400 thousand American soldiers, supported by hundreds of airplanes, nuclear submarines, giant battleships and aircraft carriers. These were stationed

at large military bases that were prepared ahead of time to receive these armies based on American President Carter's request as we mentioned earlier regarding the Carter Doctrine. The Mujahideen understood that preoccupation with fighting apostate regimes or being content with supporting different Muslim issues would dissipate the Mujahideen's efforts without benefit and put them in a vicious circle, whereby no sooner would one issue be settled, than another one would begin. It is at this point that Sheikh Usamah bin Laden understood the necessity of searching for a strategic target to bring together the Mujahideen's efforts, scattered here and there and direct them towards that target. He utilized all of that to bring in the entire Muslim Umma as an opponent in a battle against the forces that were conspiring against it. Sheikh Usamah bin Laden began the first practical steps by announcing the World Islamic Front for Fighting the Jews and Crusaders in 1998. It was not ordained to succeed.

al-Qaeda (Tanzeem Qaedat al-Jihad)

The organizational capabilities of the Egyptian Jihad Group under the leadership of Dr. Aiman al-Zawahiri, may Allah protect him, merged with the leadership capabilities of Sheikh Usamah bin Laden to create al-Qaeda. It adopted the call to fight against the primary perpetrator of all the Muslims' grief and the buttress undergirding the ruling regimes that crouch over the necks of Muslims (America) by targeting all American political, economic, military, and civilian interests in every part of the globe. Sheikh Usamah bin Laden summarized the new formula that will destroy the enemy lines, religious organization, ruling regimes and Crusader forces in the following as provided by Sheikh Abu Musab al-Suri, may Allah release him, who mentioned it in his comprehensive work *Call for Global Islamic Resistance*:

Sheikh Usamah arrived at a formula by his own thought process, by the influence of the path of the Jihadist movement on him and by his understanding of reality that the way to Jihad against apostate regimes such as the one controlling Saudi Arabia inevitably leads to confronting America. With God's blessing, he has come to this formula:

The Correct Policy:

The scholars are giving legitimacy to the Saudi family. The Saudi family is giving legitimacy to the presence of the Americans on the Peninsula. There is one of two ways for confrontation with the Saudi family.

Either:

- 1- Confront the Saudi family. This creates a necessity to confront the scholars to expose their hypocrisy in order to remove the Saudi family's legitimacy. This would be a losing battle due to the size and weight of the religious establishment with the people and the legitimacy and fear that they have sown in the hearts of the people for over 70 years.

Or:

- 2- A more sound method; that is to attack the American presence, and so force the Saudi family to defend it. Thereby, their legitimacy would fall in the eyes of Muslims in the land of the two holy mosques. When the religious institution defends them, their legitimacy will fall with them...
And so the battle would become more apparent and clear to the people.
Sheikh Usamah chose the second option.

The first al-Qaeda operations began by attacking the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998. That operation resulted in the death of 224 people and great astonishment in the world because it targeted the main American CIA location in Africa. Additionally, al-Qaeda struck the U.S. Destroyer Cole off the shores of Aden in the summer of 2000. Therefore on the one hand, America pressured the Taliban through the United Nations, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and other parties to surrender Usamah bin Laden. On the other hand, it planned to eliminate safe havens for terrorism by taking control of al-Qaeda camps, from which it directs the global Jihad. However, something happened to change, overturn, and tilt the balance of the global struggle!

Meeting Point of the Jihadist Path Represented by al-Qaeda, the Spearhead of the Islamic Umma, with the Path of America, the Spearhead of the Third Crusade

Strategic reports were produced and placed on American President Bill Clinton's desk. These reports stated that the real danger following the cold war era will be hidden in global Jihad or the American term "radical Islam." This is because this type of confrontation, were it to occur, would lead America into what is called "Asymmetrical Warfare". This is a new type of war that will rob the American Army of its military effectiveness. This is because its nuclear missiles, stealth aircraft, satellites and aircraft carriers will face men who seek martyrdom that blow themselves up against vital American targets without the America force creating any deterrence against them.

This is why this war is called an asymmetrical war rather than an unbalanced war. The direction the American force is going is different than the direction the al-Qaeda force is going. That means that America's powerful muscle and military capabilities (with which it dominated and destroyed the world) don't see any vital and important al-Qaeda targets on which to use its power and force. In the meantime, al-Qaeda is picking its targets with great ease and also destroys its targets through martyrdom missions with an even greater ease! al-Qaeda uses backward technology to thwart America's technologically advanced instruments of war. So when al-Qaeda uses hand deliveries of its messages via couriers for communications between its leaders, it thereby thwarts all of America's air surveillance systems and its listening and monitoring devices.

When the matter took this shape, it appeared frightening to American leaders, since these matters had been nothing but theoretical ideas of what the next phase of the conflict might be. That is until al-Qaeda put its foot on the first rung of the ladder of the new war

with the Nairobi and Dar es Salaam operations in 1998. The Americans were content to direct limited missile strikes against al-Qaeda camps in Qandahar. Thereupon, al-Qaeda advanced to the next step by attacking the American destroyer the USS Cole off the coast of Aden two years later. The U.S. administration appeared as if it didn't want to believe that asymmetrical war had in fact begun. The administration of U.S. President Clinton sent an investigative team from the FBI to Yemen and pressured the Yemeni government to broaden the investigations in the case without officially accusing al-Qaeda at that time so that the case passed on to the next president and Clinton escaped from the new war beginning during his era.

Asymmetrical Warfare

At 8:45 in the morning on Tuesday, 9/11/2001, a Boeing 747 flown by Captain Mohamed Atta crashed into the first tower of the World Trade Center. That declared the beginning of the nightmarish battles of the new war, the asymmetrical war. The entire West understood that it was at a new beginning of a new type of global conflict. Huntington predicted this in the theory of the Clash of Civilizations. In summary, his theory says that the world cannot hold two or three civilizations. A single civilization must prevail and impose its political, social and economic system in order for world peace to prevail. We as Muslims agree with that as far as it goes. We believe that the world indeed cannot hold to civilizations at the same time. Therefore, we will fight until there is no more turmoil and until all religion is for Allah. We have good news that our religion is going to enter every home whether it is a tent or building; magnificent or lowly.

America has understood followed by the West that this operation is not an international crisis that will be easy to get past, overlook or delay as had happened with the Cole. They understood that their weakened system, destiny and existence in the world will be defined based on how it deals with this momentous incident. In order for us to understand the idea that was in the minds of U.S. politicians during those days, I am conveying to you the eloquent words of someone, whom I am pleased to call Professor of the Mujahideen.

The professor said to me:

America is a country that did not have anything like it before in history, whereby security was not a matter of concern to it like the rest of the countries even after it was the center of the conflict in the world. This did not change until September 11. The September 11 operations made a sharp change in the course of history.

Through this historical achievement, it became clear to us that the Jihadist movement had gone a long way to put its fingerprint on the world scene. It even reserved its own seat in the midst of the influential parties in the conflict. Thereby, it has reached the phase of ideological and organizational maturity that gives it a sizable role in leading the Umma via the Islamic Caliphate undertaking. This movement has achieved a favorable and beautiful situation. Its long journey of sword and pen has ended the next to the last phase with the death of the Muslims' spearhead against the Zio-crusader campaign, the warrior

sheikh Osama bin Laden, may Allah have mercy on him. I reckon that Allah wanted to keep the reward for him complete, so He took him before he could see the fruit of his Jihad and Dawa. The prophet's, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, saying has proven true, "There is no expedition or raid, on which a man goes and on which he takes booty and is safe without sending ahead two-thirds of his reward. However, on the raid or expedition during which he does not take booty and is wounded, he will have his full reward." (Narrated by Muslim). If the Jews have not forgotten to give credit to Herzl for building and strengthening their country that was established after his death (they brought his remains from Europe to Tel Aviv out of appreciation for his efforts to build the Jewish state, which was his brain child), then I cannot not find anything better than for us to work seriously and diligently as the sheikh taught us to build and expand the borders of the Islamic state and prepare the Caliphate to include the Arab Gulf and everything beyond it in order to be a legitimate blessing on his noble grave so the news of my message, which he did not receive, will be reported to him.

Abdallah Bin Mohamed
Shawal /5/ 1432
The Arab Peninsula

Pray for your Brothers the Mujahideen

Your Brothers at al-Mas'adat

Voice of Shumukh Islam

Immortal Words

I swear by the great Allah, who created the heavens without supports, that America will never dream of security before we truly live it in Palestine. They will never dream of security before all infidel armies depart from the land of Mohamed, blessings and peace of Allah be upon him.

Imam and Commander Osama bin Laden
May Allah have mercy on him